

THE ARCHIVE OF HOR

EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA

DIRECTED BY W. B. EMERY

DOCUMENTARY SERIES

UNDER THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF H. S. SMITH

1. J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*

NOTE. The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra, initiated by the late Professor W. B. Emery in 1964, yielded a great many documents written in different scripts and languages. The various groups of documents, prepared for publication by many scholars, will appear in the order in which they are made ready in the series *Texts from Excavations*. Reports on the excavations and catalogues of special categories of objects, which will include discussions of the inscribed material in its archaeological context, will be published in the *Excavation Memoirs* of the Egypt Exploration Society.

TEXTS FROM EXCAVATIONS
EDITED BY T. G. H. JAMES

SECOND MEMOIR

THE ARCHIVE OF HOR

BY J. D. RAY
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TO
MY MOTHER
AND THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER

PREFACE

It is usual to open a preface with an apology for the book which follows. Οὐ φροντίς; not because these pages are free from errors and shortcomings, but because henceforth the work must speak for itself.

Yet one pleasant thing cannot be told by reading: the debt which the author owes to many of his teachers and colleagues. Some have acted as a source of constant encouragement to the present writer since he first became a student of Egyptology, and if names are to be singled out, they must surely include those of Professor J. W. B. Barns, Dr. I. E. S. Edwards, Mr. T. G. H. James, Professor J. R. Harris, Dr. G. T. Martin, Dr. E. A. E. Reymond, Mr. J. Ruffle and Dr. 'A. el-Khouli. Their support underlies the pages which follow, even where it is unacknowledged.

Others in turn have had a direct influence on the arrangement of the present volume: Mr. T. C. Skeat and Professor E. G. Turner, who together reached an understanding of the Greek ostraca from the Hor archive; Professor R. H. Pierce, who read through transcriptions of several of the larger ostraca at Saqqâra and at Bergen, and whose remarks have influenced particularly Text 10 and the Appendix on the goddess Isis; Mr. A. F. Shore, who first suggested that a unity of purpose underlay these apparently contradictory texts, and who supplied many observations for improvement; and lastly, Professor H. S. Smith, who both entrusted to an untried student material which was his by right, and then added guidance to his generosity. Even the labour of these scholars would have come to little had it not been for the photographic work of Mrs. H. F. Smith, which alone made detailed study possible. I owe the frontispiece to the kindness of M. J-P. Lauer.

Two Universities, those of Cambridge and Birmingham, gave me leave from other duties to attend the excavations at Saqqâra, and I must here express my thanks to them; similar gratitude is due to the Committee and Members of the Egypt Exploration Society, whose support enabled these excavations to continue.

Miss Felicity Fildes typed a most difficult manuscript for a most difficult author; her speed and accuracy made the task enjoyable.

All these people made the qualities of this book; they are not responsible for its defects.

Birmingham

10 August, 1973

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INTRODUCTION

'FOR the first time in history the sun was seen rising in the west. Towards the west ambassadors from Egypt went forth with silks and spices and precious stones. They returned, bringing with them an ivory chair, a coarse garment of purple, and a quantity of copper coin. These humble presents were received in a delirium of joy. The Roman Senate accorded its protection, and Alexandria was saved. But its independence was forfeited; its individuality became extinct. Here endeth the history of Egypt; let us travel to another shore.'

With this flourish Winwood Reade closed the account of Egypt given in his *Martyrdom of Man*. Reade's history is now a century old, and few still see in its dramatic pages a convincing likeness of ancient Egypt. Yet this passage has a claim to be included here, not merely because it reflects the Seleucid threat and the Roman intervention which forced it from Egyptian soil, relevant though these are to much of the material about to be presented. It stands here for another reason, for Reade was one of the first popular historians to appreciate truly the career of Alexander the Great. The force of Hellenism overran the ancient Orient, obliterating its old ways; and in the sequel it was itself spent and reformed, receiving where it gave. This great fusion is more than a talking-point of academic concern, for it is the hellenized Orient which underlies much of the practice, as well as the theory, of the Roman Empire, and which forms the pattern not only of Byzantium but of the entire western world.

Such a process, the absorption of one civilization by another, is by its nature largely a mental phenomenon, and such histories are bound to be hard to document; yet we are fortunate to be able to follow some of this evolution in the

ostraca and papyri of Egypt. This is not to deny the role of the Seleucid Empire and its satellites in these events, but it is so far true that the Near East of the last three centuries before Christ has yielded little in comparison with the valley of the Nile. Such a situation is the reverse of that from earlier periods, whose clay tablets are all but imperishable, but the fact remains that it is to the Ptolemaic kingdom that we must look to trace the orientalizing of Alexander's heirs.

Within Egypt the balance lay between tradition, not all of it native, and innovation, not all of it Greek, and even by the end of the third century an equilibrium was forming. After Raphia a counterswing begins, and the key generation is that ruled over by the sixth Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor. Now it happens that one site in North Saqqâra, the Serapeum of Memphis, has acquainted us with five members of this generation, telling us through their papers not only the history of their lives, but also of their inner thoughts, by day in their letters, by night in their dreams. Four of these characters, Ptolemaios the recluse in the Serapeum, Apollonios his younger brother, and the twin sisters, Taous and Thavēs, are already known to us, and have received a worthy memorial in the pages of Wilcken. The purpose of the present work is to introduce a fifth: Hōr of Sebennytyos.

The importance of Hōr of Sebennytyos is not confined to his knowledge of political events, detailed though this is; nor is he valuable solely for his dreams, or for his accounts of the sanctuary in which he worked. His importance surely lies in the fact that to all these pieces of information he brings the picture of an individual personality, in whose light these disparate facts achieve their meaning. As such it is a pity to divide his sixty texts into categories and

INTRODUCTION

sub-categories, even though such a course was scarcely avoidable; but it is hoped that what was unavoidable will not be suffered to mislead.

A further point deserves remark: the papers of Ptolemaios and his associates were scattered almost a century and a half ago, and their early history is beyond recall. But the writings of Ḥor are provenanced by excavation. Some thirty of the ostraca here published were discovered by Emery in the winter of 1965/6 while clearing the sand from a rough stone-built chapel adjoining the ibis-galleries at Saqqâra; detailed references will appear in the text below. Three of these ostraca, notable for their size and immanent difficulty, were studied by Smith and the present author in the early months of 1969. These bear the numbers 1, 3, and 8 below. In the same season the discovery of Text 33 in a different part of the site encouraged the writer to take his leave of demotic studies; that he did not do so was due partly to the encouragement of Smith, partly to the peace of the Saqqâra garden. The remaining ostraca were copied and prepared for publication. A seminar held in London in June 1970 produced the support of Shore, and also of Skeat, who with Turner had already published the Greek ostraca from the same find. Few of the

conclusions of this seminar were able to survive the final week of January 1972, when the Saqqâra excavations, now under the joint directorship of Smith and Martin, unearthed a further thirty ostraca, including some of the finest of the archive, in the space of nine days. Commitments in England had already claimed the writer at the end of these nine days, and the decipherment of the new texts, the recognition with mixed nostalgia and recoil of old problems of palaeography or translation, made these days days of *corvée* worthy of Text 8. Excellent photographs by van Veen of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden later enabled the work to be revised at the necessary leisure.

After the writer's departure on 4 February 1972 excavation continued, but Ḥor closed his archive, producing only a number of small fragments and the completely erased Text 36. Such are the texts which appear in this volume; the word 'archive', which implies a coherent collection of legal papers, is of course a misnomer for what seems to have been the waste-paper basket of a troubled man, notes discarded after their commission to papyrus. May the word be pardoned, and the pages which follow.

A NOTE ON SYMBOLS, TRANSLITERATION, AND NUMBERING

SYMBOLS

The following refer to observations of the ancient scribe:

(r) word inserted in antiquity

[[r]] word erased in antiquity,

and the following to observations of the editor:

(r) word not written, but assumed in speech

[r] word in lacuna, or doubtfully read.

The last two do not count as evidence.

TRANSLITERATION

The long debate between the 'phonetic' school of transcription and the 'historical' has now largely been resolved in favour of the latter, especially since the publication of W. Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar*. It is the method of this dictionary which has been followed here: all words are transliterated historically except when clearly written out in phonetic characters. Thus the word for 'eat' is *wnm*, while the word for 'bitter' (historically *dhr*) is transliterated *th*, for so it is written. One resulting problem is the rendering of feminine plural nouns, for to write *hytw* conflicts with historicity, while to write *hywt* conflicts with the script. I have therefore written merely *hyt* in all contexts which demand a plural (e.g. following the article *n*). Apologies are therefore due for the hybrid *n mdt-nfrw*, which will offend some, although it reflects faithfully the habit of the scribe. For the generic pronoun I have used *pa-*, *ta-*, *na-* throughout.

Possessive and subject suffixes are introduced by a dot, as *rn.f*; object suffixes are attached by a dash, as *gm.f-s*. In a few cases where ambiguity remains I have used both signs, as *tp-f*, which may mean either 'assessing him' or 'he assessed'.

The method used for transcribing proper names is loosely based on the practice of Griffith in his *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*.

NUMBERING

The texts in this volume are numbered consecutively from 1 to 65, including those in the Addendum. Bold figures are used throughout to refer to them. Each text has in addition two other numbers, both of which are given in the preliminary descriptions of the pieces. The first is the excavator's number: those ostraca found by Emery are numbered by the grid square of the excavation, those found by Martin according to the season when they were excavated. The second number, that given in square brackets after the excavator's number, represents the entry of the object in the consecutive register of the excavation kept for the Egyptian Antiquities Service. Text 1 is thus numbered G7-25 [454], G7 being the grid square of discovery; Text 2 is 71/2-131 [5399], 71/2 indicating that the ostracon was found in the season 1971/1972.

A concordance of numbers is given on p. 191 below.

I. THE GREEK TEXTS

THE Greek texts which begin this volume were discovered by Emery in the last days of 1965, together with the first group of the demotic ostraca.¹ Immediately upon their discovery copies of all these texts were made by Smith and Martin, and the Greek ostraca were entrusted for publication to Skeat and Turner; this edition appeared in print some two years later.² A small fragment was found during clearance work in February 1972, and shown to supplement the published texts. This fragment was kindly entrusted to the present writer for inclusion in the main volume, and it appears below.

Greek Fragment

Height	3.8 cm.
Width	3.9 cm.
Thickness	0.85 cm.
Munsell ³	5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate VI
Facsimile	Fig. 1
Excavator's no.	G7-45 [474]

This small piece of reddish-grey ware clearly forms the upper right-hand corner of the ostrakon G7-42 already published by Skeat and Turner.⁴ It does not join the published lines directly, and it is clear that a central portion is still missing; enough survives, however, to reconstruct the original on the lines proposed by the editors. The recto bears the endings of four lines of Greek with palimpsest traces of demotic, as in the main ostrakon; on the verso are traces of two demotic lines, which are discussed below in the appropriate place.

¹ Preliminary report in *JEA* 52 (1966), 3-5.

² *JEA* 54 (1968), 199 ff.

³ All colour readings in this volume are given in accordance

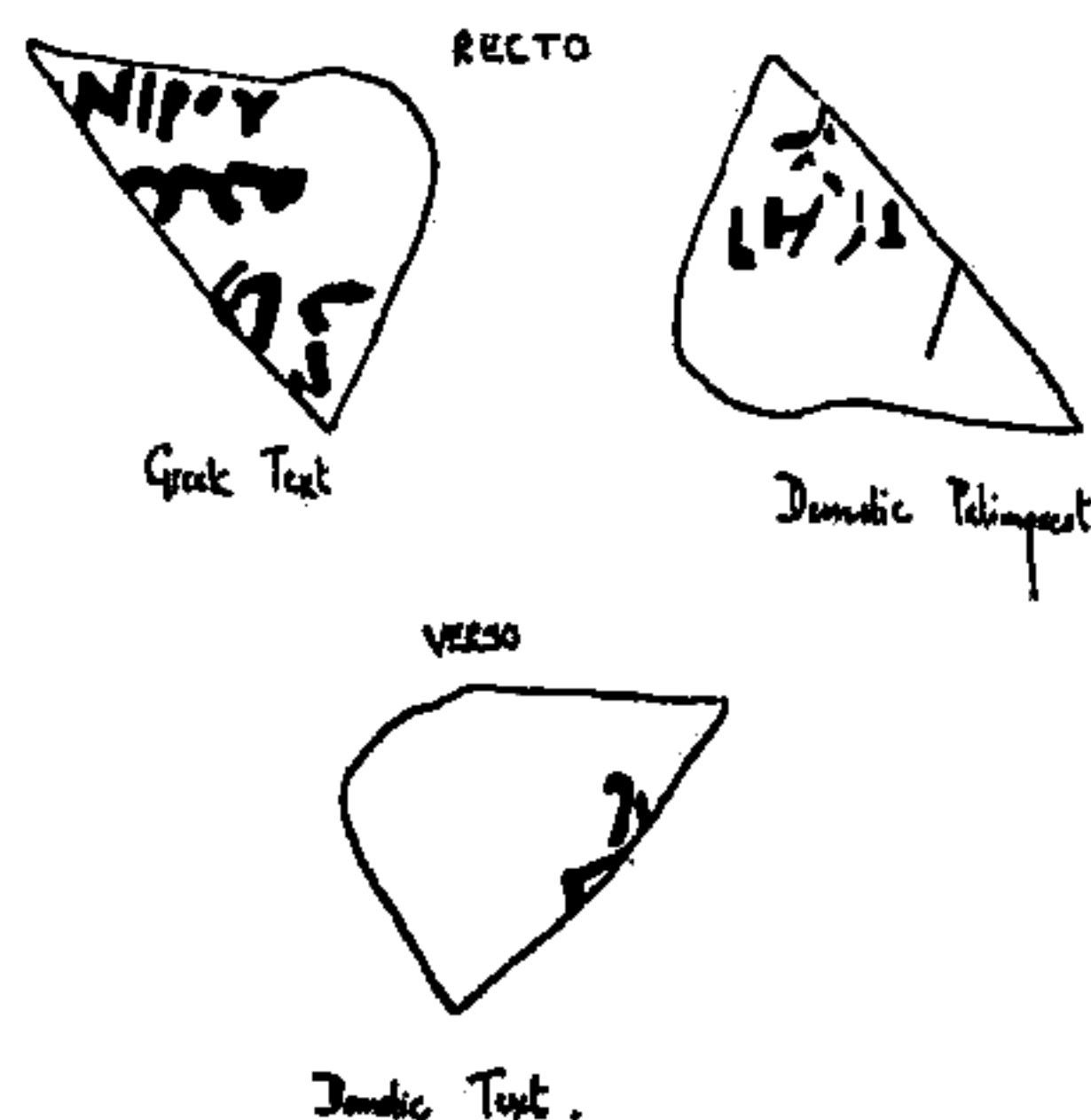


FIG. 1. Greek fragment

Text

1.]ονίρου
2.]υπο
3.]εic
4.]υ

Notes

Line 1: ο minuscule, sc. [δi' | δiα] δούρου.

Line 2: only the link of υ remains.

Line 4: υ supralinear, as if from ου.

Lines 2-4 fit neatly into the reconstruction proposed in *JEA* 54 (1968), 203, as 'Text B'; the first line, which must clearly have been inserted above the words τὰ ρηθέντα μοι ὑπό, adds the information that the words had been spoken 'through (a) dream'. This addition to the text is incorporated below.

Apart from this small fragment, the present writer can have little to add to the remarks of

with the *Munsell Soil Color Chart* (Baltimore, 1970 edition).

⁴ *JEA* 54 (1968), 200 ff.

Turner and Skeat, to whom he is greatly indebted for an understanding of these difficult texts. The various stages of the Greek texts are reprinted here for the sake of reference.

Text A

1. τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι
2. ὑπὸ μεγίστου καὶ
3. μεγίστου θεοῦ μεγάλου
4. Ἑρμοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι τῶν πρα-
5. γμάτων ὅπως [[τραπήσεται]] τῶν [ΑΙ-]
6. γυπτίων [[τάχεως]] τραπήσεται
7. τάχεως καὶ εὐθέως δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἕως τῆς Θηβαί-
δος
8. τὸν βασιλέα.

Text B

1. τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι (διὰ) ὀνείρου ὑπὸ
2. μεγίστου καὶ μεγίσ-
3. του θεοῦ [μεγάλου]
4. Ἑρμοῦ περὶ χρ[ησίμων]
5. τοῖς βασιλεῦσι [βουλόμε-]
6. νος ἀπαγγεῖλαι [ὅπως]
7. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων [τρα-]
8. πῆσεται τάχεως καὶ
9. ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα
10. τὸν βασιλέα εὐθέως.

Note

Line 1: (διὰ ὀνείρου) supplied from fragment. For the demotic equivalent, namely *n: i-dd-w p: ntr c: Dhwty ht rswt*, see Text 23, V° 16.

Text C

1. [ῶρος] παστοφόρος τῆς
2. [Ἰσίου] τοῦ ἐν Ἰσίου πόλει
3. ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου.

Text D

1. ἐστὶ τ[
2. τῶν πρ[αγμά]των τὰ
3. ῥηθέντα μοι ὑπὸ μεγί-
4. στοῦ καὶ μεγίστου [θεοῦ]
5. μεγάλου Ἑρμοῦ.

Note

Line 1: sc. τ[αῦτα] or the like, the whole corresponding to something like the **wn n: mdt* of several demotic introductions (Text 3, V° 8; 4, 1, etc.).

Text E

1. βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ
2. βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ
3. ἀδελφῷ καὶ βασιλίσσῃ
4. Κλεοπάτρῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ[ι]
5. χαίρειν ὥρος παστοφόρος
6. τῆς Ἰσίου τοῦ ἐν Ἰσίου πόλ[ει]
7. ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου β[ου-]
8. λόμενος περὶ τινων χρ[ησ[ίμων]]
9. τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἀναγγεῖλαι ὅπω[ς]
10. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τραπήσε-
11. ται τάχεως καὶ εὐθέως
12. δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα
13. ἕως τῆς Θηβαίδος.

Note

Line 12: The change from βασιλεῦσι above to the singular βασιλέα is paralleled in the demotic texts (see notes to Demotic Text A, 3 and to Text 2, R° 13 below). In such cases the writer regularly omits all reference to the second Ptolemy; he may therefore be acquitted of some of the lapses in syntax charged against him by the editors.

Such are the texts established by Skeat and Turner, with the sole addition of the new fragment above the opening line of Text B. From these reconstructions the editors draw the following conclusions:

- (i) that the date falls within the joint reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor and his brother (November 170–May 163 B.C.), and more specifically between the years 168–164;
- (ii) that the author is an Egyptian, a pastophoros of Isis in a ‘city of Isis’ (*Isios polis*) situated in the nome of Sebennytyos;
- (iii) that the writer’s Greek was execrable; *and*
- (iv) that the point of the texts is to communicate an oracle given on behalf of the two kings by ‘the greatest and greatest god, the great Hermes’.

in other words Hermes Trismegistos.¹ The new fragment adds the information that this oracle took the form of a dream.

Two emendations were proposed by the editors:

- (i) that the χρησίμων of Texts A, B, and E may be an approximation to χρησμών 'oracles',
- (ii) that τὸ τάγμα τῶν [Αἰγυπτιῶν] 'the battle-line of the Egyptians' may be intended for τῶν πραγμάτων. This would allow a neat correlation with the known revolt of Dionysios Petosorapis and other disturbances which seem to have taken place about the same time in the Thebaid (cf. A, 7; B, 9; E, 13).

On such questions the present writer is not qualified to give judgement, but it seems only fair to say that the demotic material which follows has failed to give support to either of these suggestions. Indeed, the very vagueness of such terms as χρήσιμα or πράγματα seems greatly at home among the *mdt-nfrt* and *ḥš-shnw* of the writer's native idiom. The close correspondence between the opening of Text B, τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι διὰ ὁνείρου ὑπὸ μεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ, and the *nṯ ḥ-dd-w pṯ ntr ḥṯ Dḥwtj ḥt rswt* of Text 23, V^o 16 suggests that the writer of our Greek ostraca was thinking in Egyptian, and in such circumstances a little of the strangeness of the Greek may be explained.² The position of the Greek ostraca in the whole archive is discussed in the first section of the Commentary which accompanies this volume.

The associated demotic texts

In the edition of Skeat and Turner reference was made to a palimpsest demotic text lying beneath the exterior Greek lines of G7-42, and to the four preserved lines which occupy the upper portion of its interior. A preliminary

translation of the latter was made by Smith and appears in *JEA* 54 (1968), 201; no translation of the palimpsest was given. The versions which follow were made with his cooperation.

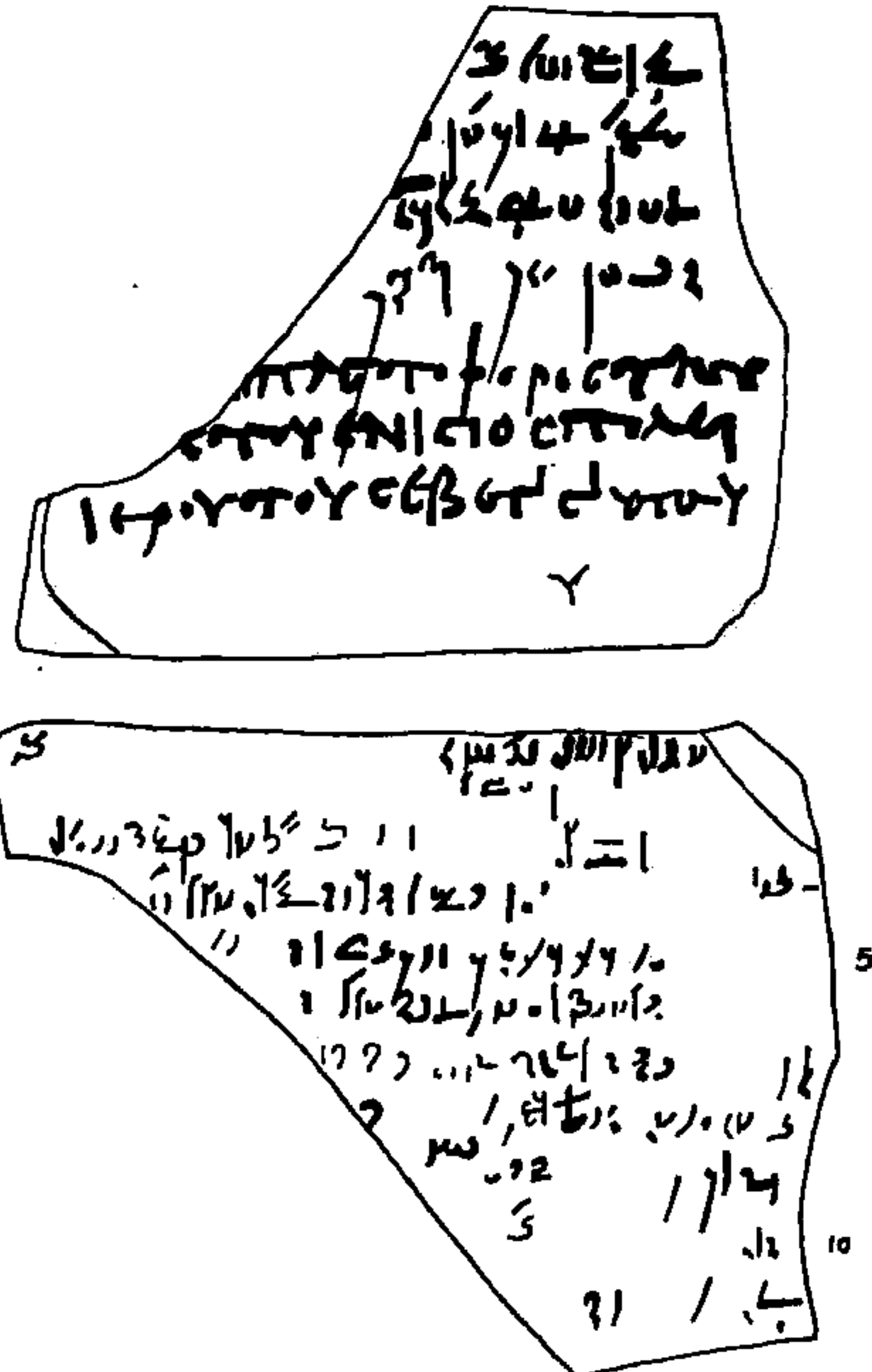


FIG. 2. Above: Demotic Text A. Below: Demotic Text B (palimpsest).

Demotic Text A

Munsell	5 YR 6/4
Photograph	<i>JEA</i> 54 (1968), pl. 32, 2.
Facsimile	this volume, Fig. 2
Excavator's no.	G7-42 (verso) [471]

texts on the ostrakon G7-42; and the identification of *dmṯ-n-ḥst* in the demotic with the *Isios polis* of the Greek. The mention of the Sebennytic nome in both Greek and demotic is another circumstantial argument. It is true that the writer of the demotic texts never calls himself a *pastophoros*, as does the writer of the Greek ostraca; possible reasons for this will be suggested in the Commentary below.

¹ See Appendix 2 at the end of this volume.

² It may as well be admitted that this similarity of idiom is the strongest argument for the identity of ὥρος of the Greek documents with the *ḥr* of the demotic, an equivalence which is otherwise unproven. Other evidence may be summarized as: the similarity of the two names; the date and provenance; the apparent identity of hand between Greek and demotic

THE GREEK TEXTS

Other dimensions have appeared in *JEA* 54; small traces at the end of the first two lines are supplied by the new fragment published above.

Text

1. *try·w gns^a wn* [] *nb(?)*
2. *p_i b_ik d_if sh p_i* [] *(trace)^b*
3. *nfr·s (n) p_iy·k cš-shn* []
4. *n_i/t_i nty sh n-tm·f ht·f* (vacat).

Notes

a. For this phrase, and its connection with the Greek ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ, see notes to Text 16, R^o 11 below, and § 1 of the ensuing Commentary.

b. Apparently an 'evil' determinative *l*, although *mn* is also a possibility.

Translation

1. Wrong has been done^a: account [.....] every(?)
2. the document. He caused to be written the [.....]
3. it is beneficial (to) your fortune^b [.....]
4. these^c (things) which are written in it: its content.

Notes

a. See note above.

b. cf. Text 3, R^o for similar sentiments. For the use of *cš-shn* see the index at the end of the volume. The person addressed in *p_iy·k* may possibly be Philometor, and the whole phrase is reminiscent of the Greek περί χρησίμων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι.

c. Less likely 'she'. An active translation of *nty sh n-tm·f* as 'who write(s) it' is scarcely possible; *sh* has therefore been taken as qualitative (c_{HE}). For *ht·f* as the copied contents of a document, cf. Text 12, V^o 8 *ht b_ik ht·f*.

Preliminary Remarks

The position of this text between the two Greek texts B and C is rather puzzling. Its purpose seems reasonably clear: the writer claims that wrong has been done, doubtless to himself, and prepares to introduce his account.¹ The

words 'it is favourable (to) your fortune' may perhaps be addressed to the king, and refer to the Greek oracle on the other side of the ostrakon. The similarity between the Greek hand and the demotic has already been observed by Skeat and Turner, and it seems perverse to claim that the two are not related in some way. One thing that is clear is that the entire ostrakon is a preliminary draft, and it may even be that the small Greek text C was intended, with the usual disregard of syntax (!), to follow directly from the Greek lines of the recto. The demotic will then follow the whole, and mark the introduction to a long demotic narrative. This explanation will remove the awkward vacillation from Greek to demotic and back to Greek again, but it is a desperate recourse, and quite unconfirmed by other evidence.

Demotic Text B

This is the palimpsest beneath the recto of G7-42 [471].

Munsell	5 YR 6/4
Photograph	not given
Facsimile	Fig. 2

This palimpsest, which appears only on very close inspection, seems to consist of some twelve demotic lines, which lie upside down in relation to the Greek text written over them. The opening lines are clearer than the later, for on this edge of the sherd the erasure was less thorough, and the palimpsest lines lie between the lines of Greek; towards the end the demotic is completely overlaid by the later text. At the ends of lines 10-12 some groups have been supplied from the verso of the fragment G7-45 (Fig. 1).

Text

1. *n-drt sh^b* (n) *p_i tš n Tb-ntr^c Hr nty hr*
[*Mn-nfr^b*]
2. (traces)

¹ The suggestion of *JEA* 54 (1968), 201, that the demotic lines form part of the original (Egyptian) oracle is difficult to reconcile with the new translation.

THE GREEK TEXTS

3. (traces) *dd mdt rmt-(n)-Kmy*
4. *mdt Hp-nb-s (n) rn p: ntr c: [*
5. *sst-f^d twf tr-rh-w^e [*
6. *hwy n p: hsty (n) p: ntr [*
7. *nty nb [*
8. *pyf hrw chr-f [*
9. *m-s: [*
10. *tp-f^d [] crd^f*
11. (traces) [] (trace)
12. (traces) []

Notes

a. The upper part of many of the signs is missing, a fact which suggests that other lines may have preceded which are now lost; but the damage may equally be the result of wear, and the opening line is so natural that it is difficult to imagine what could have stood before it.

b. Restored, tentatively, from the very similar opening to Text 25, *n-drt sh ts Tb-ntr Hr nty hr Mn-nfr*.

c. For the reading of this important group see notes to Text 2, R^o 2 below.

d. See the introduction for this method of attaching suffixes to the preceding word.

e. -s may also be possible.

f. This word, and the trace at the end of the following line, are restored from the fragment G7-45 published above.

Translation

1. [From the scribe] (of) the nome of Seben-nytos,^a Hor, who is in [Memphis(?)]^b
2. (traces)
3. [.....] speaking the words of the Egyptian(s)^c
4. word(?)^d [.....] Hepnēbes^e (in) the name of the great god [.....]
5. [.....] his adornment, he knowing [.....]
6. [.....] cast to the heart(?) of the god^e ... [.....]
7. [.....] every (thing) which
8. [.....] his voice. He stood [.....]
9. [.....] after [.....]

10. he assessed [.....] ear-
nest(?)

11. [(traces)] [(trace)
12. [(traces)]

Notes

a. See notes to Text 2, R^o 2 below.

b. See textual note above.

c. Perhaps a reference to the fact that the writer is now using demotic; a similar description occurs in the well-known 'promulgation' passage in *Rosettana*. An almost contemporary Serapeum text, Pap. Bologna 3173, has (V^o 9-11) *dd 3plns mdt-Wynn, P:dt-Hr-(n)-Py mdt rmt-(n)-Kmy* 'Apollonios speaks Greek, Petiharenpi Egyptian' (Botti, *Testi demotici*, 13 ff.).

d. Perhaps the original had *ht-mdt* 'utterance'; an approximation to the τὰ ῥηθέντα of the Greek texts.

e. This place-name, long known to be part of the Memphite necropolis, can now be located with greater precision as the area of the burial-places of the Mothers of Apis; see § 5 of the Commentary below.

f. The name of the god Thoth may have stood here; see Appendix 2 at the end of the volume.

g. This obscure phrase may possibly mean 'suggest to the god's mind', but the text is too faint even to guarantee the reading given here.

Preliminary Remarks

It is a pity that this text has so little to yield, for there is little doubt that in its complete state it would have told us much of the circumstances surrounding our archive. It is also difficult to understand why the text was erased; one possibility is that the writer, having written this introduction in demotic, decided to substitute a rubric in Greek which would be more likely to catch the eye of the authority for which it was intended. This Greek text would have been a mere summary of the demotic, particularly so if (as Skeat and Turner have suggested) the writer's knowledge of the language was minimal.

Little of the text can be reconstructed: the writer, who calls himself Hor 'of the nome of Sebennytos', has come to Hepnēbes in the Memphite necropolis. He seems to submit various matters to a god, possibly Thoth (the

THE GREEK TEXTS

Hermes of the Greek texts), although the name is lost. The sequel is unknown, but it may be that Demotic Text A, which occupies the other side of the sherd, is the continuation of the tale. Reasons have already been given for identifying the Hor of the demotic texts with the Ὥρος of the Greek,¹ and the remainder of the volume will proceed on this assumption.

¹ See p. 3 n. 2 above.

II. THE DEMOTIC TEXTS

§ 1: Texts of direct historical significance

TEXT 1

Height	17.9 cm.
Width	21.9 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm. (ave.)
Munsell ¹	2.5 YR 4/4
Photograph	Plate II
Facsimile	Plate IIA
Excavator's no.	G7-25 [454] ²

A reddish ostrakon, taken from the side of a curved vessel, bearing on its exterior the traces of eighteen lines of demotic script. The interior is uninscribed. Nineteen fragments of the text were discovered by Emery in the winter of 1965/6, and pieced together by Martin; at least five other small pieces are missing. Preliminary study was carried out at Saqqâra by Smith, and a small photograph, described as 'Demotic Ostrakon with Good Augury', was published in *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. I, 2.³ Much of the writing had faded, and the sherd had clearly been broken in antiquity.⁴ A small protrusion in the upper right-hand corner of the text (beginning of l. 3) has also disturbed part of the writing. The scribe wrote with a very fine reed, which lost ink rapidly, and in places (e.g. the word *Pr-ε* in the middle of l. 14) had clearly been overfilled. All of these circumstances, combined with the inherent difficulty of subject-matter, make interpretation of the ostrakon difficult in the extreme.

Text

1. *wc mkmk i-hr^a n: wcbw n-drt Hr p: sh rmt*

- Pr-Dhwti^b (n) p: tš (n) [Tb-ntr. hr tr-l(?) p: snt (n) tr]^c n: hrw^d (n) t: wcbt (n)*
2. *Wsr Mr-Wr^e (n) 'Iwnw^f p: y-s smt t: wcbt (n) Wsr-Hp (n) Mn-nfr. hpr hst-sp 21t tpy šmw^g sw 2^h tw-i hrⁱ 'Iwnw dd*
3. <(traces added below line)^j> *mšc [] h: r-ik p: y-i dmc irm p: y-i gsti n-drt(-i)^k (n) Mn-nfr [r t: y-s] sb^m []ⁿ*
4. *p: []^o mnh wcb^p p: r-pr (n) 'Iy-m-htp nty tw hn 'Iwnw r dlt dd-w n-i h: r-i [tw-i] dd n-i n-lm-s dd*
5. *tw-i iy (n) 'Iwnw šbd-4 šht^q (hn) [t:] wcbt Wsr Mr-Wr dd-w n-i (n) rswt (r) dlt n: y (n) sh i-hr n: rmtw c: y*
6. *[šm(-i) hr t: hst]tryn p: hm-ntr Hnsu^r p: sh Pr-ε (n) Mn-nfr hst-sp 23t šbd-3 šht p: nty m: c^u*
7. *p: tr^v wn-n: štyks^w hr pr-mh^x (n) Pr-šwrys. Kmy^y pnk n-lm-f.*
8. *h: r-i irm Hryns (i) wn-n: hr t: hst t: mtgt(y) []^{aa} p: rd (n) Pr-ε*
9. *Ptrwmys^{bb} p: y-n hry. dl-i gm-f n: mdt [] i-tr iy [i:] tr-hr-i*
10. *p: cš-šn (n) Pr-ε. t: nbt twy^{cc} šst t: i-tr^{dd} wšh-šn n-lm-w p: ntr ε Dhwti p: i-tr*
11. *dlc-mdt^{ee} hr-w tw-w dd^{ff} n-i rswt: tw-s(?)^{gg}*
12. *šst t: ntrt c: t n^{hh} p: yⁱⁱ Kmy p: t: Hr tw-s mšc (n) rdwy-s hr hr*
13. *p: mw (n) p: ym (n) Hr. Dhwti h: r h: s šsp drt-s ph-s p: cwy-(n)-mr^{jj}*
14. *(n) Rc-kd dd-s Rc-kd smn wbs p: k^{kk} hf. Pr-ε dlc-mdt hn-f^{ll}*
15. *irm n: y-f snw p: šr ε (n) Pr-ε grp. p: y-f šr grp m-s: f. p: šr (n) p: y šr*

¹ See the note to the Greek texts above.

² On the numbering of the ostraca see p. xv above.

³ The captions to numbers 1 and 2 on this plate should be reversed.

⁴ Some fragments, for example, have faded much more than the others, and must have been exposed to different conditions in the ground.

16. *grp m-s:f. p: šr (n) p: šr (n) p: šr (n) p:ry šr*
grp m-s:f ssw^{mm}
 17. *kyⁿⁿ tw:f rš:ry m-šs^{oo}. p: rhr-rd nry*
 18. *t: Pr-r:it ms šr hwty^{pp}.*

Notes

a. I have chosen this transcription to indicate the form without medial S -*tr*- used by this scribe.

b. A place-name of great importance in our texts; for a discussion of its geographical setting and significance, see § 1 of the Commentary, p. 117 below. Here it is the reading which is of interest. The final element, with divine sign placed before the general determinative of a locality, would seem to be the name of the god Thoth (cf. ll. 10 and 13 of this text alone; clearer writings in the other texts seem to confirm this reading). The initial element, $\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$, would seem to begin with the sign λ for *pr*; the long horizontal line, though shown by examples in other phrases not to be the genitival particle (which is hardly ever written in these texts in any form) is not a major obstacle: such lines are common in place-names (cf. the writings of *Tb-ntr* and *Mn-nfr* in the palaeography, and the similar line over the *Pr* of *Pr-Pr-r:* in Demotic Chronicle 3/29 (Spiegelberg, *Demotische Chronik*, Orakelglossar, no. 89)). The problem lies more in the $\overline{\text{V}}$: in view of the reading of a very similar group as *pr-mh* 'north' (this text, l. 7; Text 2, V^o 11, and Text 23, R^o 5) it is tempting to translate the whole as **Pr-mh-Dhwty*, but this, appropriate as it may be to a town of the northern Delta, lacks many of the virtues of grammar or syntax. The best clue is seen in Text 11, V^o 2 where *p: tncy* appears as $\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda/\text{III}/\text{O}/\text{L}/\text{v}$; here $\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$ seems to be little more than a writing of the determinative λ , regardless of what the true meaning of *tncy* might be. A further hint of this reading *pr* is suggested by the writing of *pry* 'grain' in *Insinger*, 32/8 as $\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda/\text{L}$. Such is the evidence, slight though it is, which inclines me towards the reading *pr*-. A further point of interest is that both *Pr-Pr-r:* (nepinepo) and *pry* (Boh. φικ) suggest from Coptic an unusual pronunciation of *pr*, though admittedly not a single one; $\text{Jf}, \text{Z}/\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$ may therefore represent a by-pronunciation (*nepiəwəγə or φικəwəγə

or the like) current in the Sebennyte nome in the second century B.C.; cf. perhaps Redford, *JNES* 22, 119.

c. Largely restored from the faint traces with the aid of parallel texts. *Tb-ntr* is apparently given as the nome following *Pr-Dhwty* in Text 28, 3; *hr*, with its determinative, is perhaps clearer than most; *tr-t* is largely conjectural, *p:* completely so, and *snt* bears some resemblance to the facsimile, but the whole is suggested with the utmost reserve.

d. The traces also suit *hrw* 'expenses' (ρηγ) and the plural of *hr* 'time' (ρη), but these seem less appropriate here.

e. Faint, but confirmed by the connection with *Wstr-Hp* and the following place-name, both here and in Text 13, 6-7.

f. The place-name written $\text{Jf}, \text{Z}/\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$ is also of importance in these texts, and occurs commonly; v. index for detailed references. From the present context, and from Text 13, it emerges as a home of Osormnevis, and is said also to have a shrine (*r-pr*) of Imhōtep in its midst. The semi-hieratic dream invocation, Text 18, R^o 4, 8 acquaints us with another of its gods, *Hr-hk:* and mentions both its 'great mysteries' (*sštw rry*) and a 'soul' (*by*) of $\text{Jf}, \text{Z}/\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$. One is therefore strongly moved to identify the group with Heliopolis,¹ the more so when we find in Text 13, 7 that its necropolis lies in the *eastern* desert. The palaeography is not easy to explain however, although the writing ($\text{Jf}, \text{Z}/\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$) in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 897, 901 (where it is followed by *šmr*) and 902 (followed by the name of the god Montu) and the 'Faiyûmic' version given without reference in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 24, are somewhat similar.² The present writing may suggest a hieroglyphic * $\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda/\text{III}/\text{O}/\text{L}/\text{v}$, a writing which presumably reflects the demotic traditions of Memphis and the Delta, rather than those of Upper Egypt which appear so largely in our dictionaries. For the political role of Heliopolis at this period, see note d to the translation below.

g. It seems to be characteristic of these hands that while *pri* normally contains a curved element at the end (S/λ or the like), *šmw*, which begins identically, is a series of straight lines ($\overline{\text{V}}/\lambda$). Examples are common in our texts; but in such a faint context as this there is not much room for certainty.

¹ An identification originally suggested by Smith, on the basis of this text alone, and at first viewed with scepticism by the present author.

² Cf. the example in *JEA* 58 (1972), 248, note b.

h. Day-dates are a source of great uncertainty in these texts, cf. the note to Text 8, R^o 1, below. Most of the readings given in this volume are based upon an unpublished account papyrus found in 1971 by Dr. 'A. el-Khouli near the site of Mariette's house at Saqqâra.¹ This papyrus contains a complete list of days in the hand of a Memphite scribe, which may be contemporary with, or slightly later than, the Hor documents. The marked tilt to the left of the sign for (sw)2 is shown in about half of the examples given in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 707.

i. The choice is between *hr* and *wh*: several of these texts seem to distinguish between the two as $\langle \rho \rangle$ for *wh*, \mathfrak{P} for *hr*, but the majority does not, and the question becomes acute in statements of location (cf. Text 8, R^o 12-13). If we are to read *wh*, it must be on the assumption that this is in the Qualitative, and means 'situated' or the like; it is then difficult to explain why the first-person example quoted above shows no sign of the ending *-k*. The reading *hr* is open to the objection that this preposition when used in expressions of locality is conventionally translated 'from' (Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 165, 2), whereas our context clearly demands the meaning 'at'; but on this point some elliptical but telling remarks by Goedicke (*MDAIK* 18 (1962), 17-18) should be called in evidence, and for this reason the reading *hr* has been preferred.

j. These traces, displaced by the fault in the surface of the pot, are extremely obscure. The first group bears a slight resemblance to *hty*, but no satisfactory translation can be offered.

k. The sign preceding *hm* (?) suggests the reading for the entire group as *hrc* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 345), but it is difficult to see why the scribe's palette and papyrus should be abandoned at this point; nevertheless, the reading has much to recommend it, v. note f to the translation below.

l. *-t* is to be restored here, as with *hm/hrc* above, although clearly written out in *pry-t* and in *hr-t* in l. 8.

m. Only *sb* remains, with a determinative which may be \mathfrak{J} , sloping slightly to its left. *Try-sb* (for *sb*), $\mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{W}$, is conjectured; it must be admitted that none of the examples in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 420-1 for *sb(t)* $\mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{W}$ show the metathesis of *b* and *s* which is common in the word *s(t)bt* 'enemy'. The reading adopted here is suggested by the determinative, by its

general appropriateness, and by a similar writing of the word in Text 3, R^o 17.

n. A strange trace which I cannot interpret; possibly *n-drt* (?).

o. Again a crux: the traces at first suggested *nhs*, and with the following *mmh* were interpreted to refer to an act of incubation within the temple of Imhôtep, but this palaeographically has little to commend it. The *mmh*, however, does seem clear, and with the following *wrb* (if such be the true reading) suggests that we have here a proper name. The middle group has a slight resemblance to *ntrw*, but I cannot suggest a complete reading, and the first group, beginning with the article *p*, may be another title (*p r*) preceding this name. But all else is fabrication.

p. See note above; there is perhaps room for *p* between this word and the preceding.

q. A very faint passage, but the initial sign seems to resemble that of *ht* at the end of the line below, rather than the opening sign of *prt/hmw*. The day, if any, is lost.

r. Here hesitation is in order whether *dit* is to be taken as Infinitive used for Imperative, opening a clause in direct speech, or whether (*r*) should be understood before it: if the first possibility is adopted, then the *hm* of the next line should perhaps also be taken as an imperative, but this raises difficulties, and the second possibility, suggested by Pierce, has been chosen here.

s. Terribly faint, and towards the end almost entirely lost. The version given here is suggested with every reservation.

t. There are slight traces of *w* before *tryn*, and the whole name perhaps read *Swtryn*. The following group (*p hm-ntr Hns* seems preferable to *p hr-tb*) is either a title, or the name of the father; as a title it seems rather awkwardly placed before *p sh Pr-r (n) Mn-nfr*, but this may reflect the preferences of Hor. For a parallel, see note to the translation below.

u. *p nty (n) ht-w* is perhaps palaeographically better than the reading proposed here, but yields a rather awkward turn of phrase.

v. The writing of this word shows close links with the form adopted upon the Rosetta stone; another sign that we have here to deal with a Lower Egyptian tradition of writing.

w. Restored from Text 2, V^o 10-11, q.v.

x. Again confirmed by the parallel in Text 2; the question of the reading of the group $\mathfrak{J} \rho \lambda$ is,

¹ A brief reference to this interesting *sondage* by J. Leclant in *Orientalia*, 41 (1972), 255 § (b). The provisional number is 60 B. See now *JEA* 59 (1973), 153.

however, a complex one. The determinative shows us that we have to deal with the name of a locality of some kind, and this is confirmed by the information given in Text 23, R^o 5 where a temple of Osiris is said to lie *hr p_i dw* *ⲓⲡⲓⲕ* *R_i-st_iw* 'on the mountain of *ⲓⲡⲓⲕ* of Rostau'. These two examples strengthen the impression that we are dealing with a point of the compass, with the article *p_i* written, as so often in these expressions, as *ⲓⲕ*. This is confirmed again in Text 11, V^o 1 where *p_i t_i-rs* 'the south-land' is compared with

a group written *ⲓⲡⲓⲕ* *p_i t_i-mh* 'the north-land'. The reading *pr-mh* is thus suggested for our group: *pr-rs* and *pr-lmnt* both appear unmistakably in Text 23, and *pr-t_ibt* would be very difficult to explain palaeographically.

y. Again restored, with the permission of the traces, from Text 2, V^o 9-10.

z. Taken as a relative with unwritten prosthetic *t_i*. The final vertical stroke seems to be merely part of the word, as in Text 2, V^o 9 (*wn-n_i Kmy*, etc.).

aa. Entirely lost: one may restore something like [*tw wn-n_i tr-f*] etc. *ad sensum*. An alternative possibility, that we have a change of subject to the first person, and that Hor is describing himself as the 'agent of Pharaoh', is *a priori* not so likely.

bb. The βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος of the Greek texts. Reasons will be given below for thinking that this king is Philometor. The determinative, though faint, may well have been the 'foreigner' *ⲥ*; if so, there is a contrast, though not necessarily a serious one, with the practice of Text 2.

cc. A common enough title of this goddess, cf. our Text 10.

dd. The *t_i* is more of a straight line than one would wish, but seems permissible. This hand exhibits the strange characteristic of writing out the relative *t_i-tr* in full, even after the definite article (cf. *p_i t_i-tr/dl_r-mdt* at the end of this line). This is in strange contrast to the habitual omission of the relative stroke / before elements such as *wn-n_i* (cf. l. 8, and note z above).

ee. *dl_r-mdt* is a word of some significance in our texts. The basic meaning 'assemble words', thus 'record' is shown in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 986, Inschrift

50b, l. 7, *p_i nty dl_r-mdt (n) Pr-Wstr*, 'he who records in House-of-Osiris'. The compound noun, *gy-(n)-dl_r-mdt* (Text 19, R^o 17) seems to mean 'document, registration', and corresponds to χρηματισμός in *Canopus*, a, 24; b, 7. The toponym *mr/rwy-n-dl_r-mdt* corresponds to the Greek χρηματιστήριον.¹ The meaning 'record' is thus relatively assured; in a context where dreams are mentioned, it is perhaps tempting to suggest the meaning 'interpret' (cf. also Text 17A, 11-12), but there is no evidence to confirm this. Thoth's position as a recorder is well attested.²

ff. The standard introduction to accounts of dreams, cf. Text 8, R^o 1 and 12; also Bologna 3171, V^o 1 and 8 (Botti, *Testi demotici*, 18, although the translation given there seems very dubious). The expression is presumably impersonal, and *tw-w dd n_i (n) rswt* corresponds roughly to the English 'I had a dream'; hence the translation offered below.

gg. A strange phrase, not rendered easier by the break in the ostrakon at this point. The entire group seems to recur in Text 4, R^o 4, and in both cases as the conclusion of an introductory explanation; there follows, after a gap, an account of the contents of something, in Text 4 of a letter, in this case of a dream. Its rough meaning might be expected to be *'as follows',

but its exact reading is elusive. Its forms, *ⲓⲓⲓ* *ⲓⲓ* in Text 4 and *ⲓⲓⲓ* in the present document, sug-

gest a form in *Normalschrift* **ⲓⲓⲓ*. Apart from a possibility that we are dealing with a writing of *tw-s* 'behold' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 612; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, §§ 423-6) with a supralinear stroke, I can offer no explanation. The ink line which cuts across the group in this example is probably only a *lapsus calami* from a previous group, perhaps the *f* of l. 9, which runs through to ll. 12 and 13.

hh. Slopes dramatically, and so more resembles *r*, but this yields little sense.

ii. A most strange turn of phrase, but alternatives such as **p_i t_i Kmy* seem quite excluded. The full writing *ⲓⲓⲓ* for *p_iy* is unlike the abbreviated forms in ll. 15-16 below, but exactly like the last occurrence of the word in l. 15.³

¹ Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, 7/7, 135-6 ('Ort der Protokollierung'); ibid. 111 for the meaning of the verb in general.

² e.g. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, article 'Thot'.

³ Perhaps it is not amiss here to point out that the principle

upon which much palaeography, demotic and otherwise, is based (namely, that the same scribe will always write the same word in the same text in the same way) is groundless. (See, for example, the note to Text 3, V^o 4.)

jj. For such formatives in *rt/rwy-* cf. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 34. The present example seems unattested.

kk. A mere conjecture from the traces.

ll. The scribe seems to have altered *hn-s* to *hn-f*; the *f* presumably referring to the city Alexandria.

mm. The stroke at the end of the line is probably a space-filler.

nn. This passage is largely restored from Text 2, V^o 2, where it recurs; the only clear elements here are *ssw*, *tw-f*, and the final word. Note the *-y* of the Qualitative of *rs*, which does not tally with the Coptic evidence (Infinitive *ⲁⲩⲩⲁⲓ*, Qualitative *ⲟⲩⲩ*), and is presumably graphic.

oo. An interesting word, appearing as it does here in the form *(ⲛⲓⲓⲓ)*, in Text 3 as *ⲛⲓⲓⲓ*. The nature of the first sign, apparently *m*, and the position of the word as a qualifier of *rsy*, suggests the reading *m-šs(r)*. The second sign may perhaps derive from hieroglyphic *š*. Reasons will be given in the commentary below for the belief that while Text 2, in common with many other documents in this series, represents a Memphite hand, the writings of Text 3 stem from the Delta, in fact from the Sebennyte nome. The example of *m-šs* here suggests that one of the greatest dangers of these texts will be the appearance of familiar words in entirely new disguises; none of the writings in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 521, except possibly the Rosetta hand, and none in the manuscript dictionary of Thompson¹ truly resemble the version seen here.

pp. The presence of two *l*-signs, only the first of which is the determinative of *ms*, shows that we cannot be dealing with the abbreviated phrase *ms hwtj* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 178). Admittedly *šr hwtj* is a tautology, but the alternative *šr hty* 'eldest son' is difficult to reconcile with the traces, and it would seem that *hwtj* has been chosen to add weight to the final pronouncement.

Translation

1. A memorandum^a before the priests^b from Hor, the scribe, a man of Pi(?)^c-Thoth in the nome of [Sebennytyos. I observed the habit of spending] (my) days at the sanctuary^c of
2. Osormnevis at Heliopolis(?), and likewise

the sanctuary of Osorapis at Memphis.^d It happened in Year 21, Pakhons,^e day 2, (that) I was in Heliopolis. [My heart (?)] said,

3. 'Journey [.....]'. (I) abandoned my papyrus-roll and my palette from (my) hand^f in Memphis [to receive instruction (?) from (?)]
4. [.....] *mnh(?)* (the) priest of the chapel^g of Imhōtep which is within Heliopolis, to cause it to be told to me in person. (For)^h I said this^a to myself, namely,
5. 'When I came to Heliopolis in Khoiak [day . . .?],ⁱ (within) the sanctuary of Osormnevis I was told (in) a dream to put this (in) writing before the great men'.^j
6. [I went before (?) *Sw(?)*]^k *tryn* the prophet of Khons,^l the scribe of Pharaoh at Memphis,ⁱ (in) [Year] 23, Hathyr;^m that which was verified
7. (at) the time (when) *štyks*ⁿ was to the north of *Pr-šwrys*^o (and) Egypt divorced itself.^p
8. I stood with *Hryns*^q who was at the head of the army [and who acted as (?)] the agent (of) Pharaoh
9. Ptolemy our Lord.^r I caused him to discover the matters [.....] which had come before me,
10. the fortune of Pharaoh.^s The lady of the two lands, Isis, was the one who ordained them, the great god Thoth the one who
11. recorded in connection with them.^t I was told a dream [as follows]:
12. Isis, the great goddess of this Egypt and the land of Syria,^u is walking upon the face (of)
13. the water of the Syrian sea.^v Thoth stands before her (and) takes her hand,^w (and) she reached^x the harbour
14. (at) Alexandria. She said, 'Alexandria is secure [against (?) the] enemy. Pharaoh records within it

¹ In the possession of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge. I am grateful to the Revd. Professor J. M. Plumley for granting facilities to consult these records.

15. together with his brethren.^a The eldest son of Pharaoh wears the diadem.^a His son wears the diadem after him. The son of this son wears the diadem after him. The son of the son of the son of this son wears the diadem after him, for very
16. many lengthy days. The confirmation^{aa} of this:
17. the Queen bears^{bb} a male child.^c

Notes

a. Coptic $\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota$, Crum, 162a. The parent verb $mkmk$ 'consider' occurs in demotic in Kufi, 9/32, 21/7, also in Pap. Berlin 7059/24. The equation with the Greek $\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ occurs in Pap. Elephantine 533 (Spiegelberg, *Demotische Denkmäler* (Cairo Catalogue), ii. 153). Pap. Loeb 53 (Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri* Loeb, 102 ff., also Zauzich in *Enchoria*, 2 (1972), 151) is an example of the characteristic opening formula: $wr mkmk n-drt N s; N$, etc.¹ Pap. Cairo 30966 (Spiegelberg, op. cit. ii. 205 and pl. LXXII), a Ptolemaic text from Gebelein, is a $mkmk$ concerning ibises, and even closer to the present text, Pap. Cairo 31221 (Spiegelberg, op. cit. i. 309) from Tebtynis contains a parallel to our opening phrase: $wr mkmk t-tr-hr n; wrbw$. This text concerns a farmer (wyr) of Pharaoh. The legal significance of the word as a written piece of evidence to support a petition is discussed by E. A. E. Reymond in *JEA* 58 (1972), 254 ff.

b. These priests remain anonymous, but they may be the staff of the ibis-shrine at North Saqqāra by which the ostraca themselves were found; if so, they will be the men whose council appears in Texts 19 and 21 below.

c. I have used this word as a conventional translation of the term wbt , which ignores the connotation 'place of mummification' which the latter possessed, especially in the case of sacred animals (Preisigke and Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim Ostraka*, 1-13, n. 1) and kings (Erichsen, *Eine neue Erzählung*, Column III). A similarly colourless 'chapel' is used for $r-pr$, and 'temple' for $ht-ntr$ whenever it occurs.

d. It is not surprising to find these two bull-cults so closely linked, and the same parallelism occurs elsewhere in these documents, notably in Text 13, 4-7.

Indeed, in the Ptolemaic period the cult of Mnevis and his deified counterpart had extremely close links with that of Apis, and became almost an extension of it (W. Otto, *Stierkulte*, 36 and for both cults combined under an $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* i. 48). Even the offices of High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and $wr-m/w$ at Heliopolis were combined already under Sheshonq I (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 950). Together with this combination went a decline in the importance of Heliopolis (Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 65), and the virtual dereliction of the place by the beginning of the Roman period is described by Strabo (xvii. 27).

e. Tybi is also possible, but less likely; the date given here, if the reasons to be given below for believing that the regnal year belongs to Philometor are sound, would correspond to the Julian 31 May 160 B.C.

f. This reading (v. note k above) 'I cast my papyrus-roll and palette from my hand in Memphis', implies that at this point Hor abandoned his scribal profession, in order to receive instruction in Heliopolis; the alternative reading, $\dot{m}-t$, pictures him on the journey, intending to make a record of the judgement he hoped to secure from the priest of Imhōtep. It is difficult from the traces to decide between these two translations.

g. $tw-t$ is circumstantial, 'I saying', tacked on to the main clause in a way characteristic of Hor's straggling style, but which is impossible to reproduce in English.

h. Literally 'it', in anticipation of the following dd clause. The order of pronouns (suffix before 'adverbial' phrase $n-im-s$) is the standard for all phases of Egyptian, and the use of the preposition $n-im$ is explained by Parker's observation that the Coptic distinction between durative and limitative tenses is observed in demotic even back to the First Persian Period (*JNES* 20 (1953), 180).

i. In the January of 160 B.C.

j. The 'great men' ($rmtw r/y$, also $rmtw dry$) appear on several occasions in our documents (cf. Text 7, 14; Text 16, R° 11-12; 17, 5; 19, R° 15; 27, V° 8-9). In several of these references they are the subject of Hor's complaints ($t/y-w gns n-drt n; rmtw r/y$), and it seems likely, though unproved, that in these latter cases they are his superiors among the staff of the ibis-shrine, against whom much of his energy seems to be directed; but the phrase is probably no more definite than the Greek $\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, and in the present context seems to mean little more than 'those in authority at Memphis'.

¹ The view that the wr in such phrases is any other than the indefinite article should now be abandoned, cf. the remarks of Hughes in *JNES* 17 (1958), 7.

k. Or possibly 'son of Phentkhons', a personal name. For the title, cf. BM. 10231, 18, *Tynsyt pꜣ hm-ntr Hnsw* (also from the Serapeum).

l. 'Scribe of Pharaoh' is presumably a demotic translation of βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. The name [...w]tryn may perhaps correspond to Σωτηρίων (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 401), but no person of this name appears in Peremans and van't-Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, i. 49-54. The βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς had charge of the financial affairs of his nome (cf. the excellent discussion by A. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, i. 187), and this general duty presumed the superintendence of the economic affairs of religious sanctuaries; it is for this reason that Hor addresses his statement to the *sh Pr-ꜣ (n) Mn-nfr*. Dittenberger, *OGIS* ii (1905), no. 685 suggests that the Royal Scribe held a rank immediately below that of the στρατηγός of the nome.

m. December 159 B.C. It must be admitted that the proposed restoration of the beginning of this line leaves the final *pꜣ nty mꜣꜣ (n) pꜣ tr* hanging awkwardly: a restoration such as *tw-ꜣ n-smꜣ t-hꜣ pꜣ sh Pr-ꜣ pꜣ nty mꜣꜣ* would yield much finer sense, but the traces would scarcely permit it.

n. Antiochus IV, Epiphanes; v. note on Text 3, V^o 10.

o. An unknown place-name; v. note *ibid*.

p. An enigmatic phrase, whose meaning is made a little clearer by the fuller writing in Text 3, V^o 9-10, *wn-nꜣ Kmy pnk n-im-f (n) Rꜣ-kd*. The verb *pnk/prk* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 136 with reference to *Mythus*, 2, 4; *πωρη*, Crum, 268b) is attested in the meaning 'pluck away, remove', and the reference is therefore to a time when Egypt had 'split away from Alexandria'. This was the state of affairs after November 170 B.C. (Skeat, *JEA* 47 (1961), 107 ff.; the statement on p. 109 recording the lack of dates for the thirteenth year can now partially be modified, v. note to Text 3, V^o 12). From this point until the eventual withdrawal of the Seleucid forces from Egypt there was a virtual state of στάσις within the country, with Egypt adhering to Philometor, while Alexandria supported the newly declared 'Ptolemy the Brother'.¹ This is the situation referred to here.

q. A transcription that may correspond to Greek Εἰρηναῖος (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 95-6 and variants),

cf. the transcription *Hyrnꜣ* for Εἰρήνη, daughter of Ptolemaios, priestess of Arsinoe Philopator in the 170s (Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* 40 (1954), 51). The role of *Eirenaïos as commander of the Egyptian cavalry forces against Antiochus is discussed more fully in the historical Commentary below.

r. A feature which will recur in both Text 2 and 3 is that in his retrospective narrative Hor constantly avoids all reference, except where inevitable, to Ptolemy 'the Brother', behaving as if Philometor had been sole ruler throughout the civil wars. The same phenomenon has already been observed in Demotic Text A above, and in the Commentary this reason will be given for believing that the bilingual ostraca may also be retrospective.

s. Cf. *περὶ χρησίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι* in Greek Text B; also the verso of Text 12 *nꜣ mdt nty nfr-w n pꜣ tꜣ-shꜣ n Pr-ꜣ*.

t. *hr* in the metaphor acquired from book-keeping 'under the heading of' (cf. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 296, 'Zur Bezeichnung der Absicht'); the same idiom in Text 17A, 11-12.

u. For Isis as goddess of Syria, cf. Appendix 1 below. A similar, and not unexpected, linking of the two nations occurs in *Demotic Chronicle*, ii. 12: *wnmy Kmt pꜣꜣ, tꜣby pꜣ tꜣ Hr pꜣꜣ*, 'the right hand is Egypt, the left hand the land of Syria (Khor)', Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 10.

v. A strikingly Biblical turn of phrase, reminiscent of the *לְיָמֵינוּ כְּיָמֵינוּ* of Genesis 1: 2. Indeed such 'dramatic' phraseology, paralleled in Texts 14 and 27, in the *Demotic Chronicle*, in Pap. Dodgson, and in the cryptic utterances ascribed to Amun in Pap. Rylands IX² seem to reflect the natural idiom of the Egyptian oracle.³

w. There may also be an underlying implication of the meaning 'guarantee' (*μεντωρε*) which this phrase can possess in legal language.

x. A change of tense less jarring in Egyptian, where the First Present is freely applied to any simultaneous action, irrespective of absolute time.

y. The 'brethren' (*snw*) may be an oblique reference to Ptolemy 'the Brother', and Cleopatra 'the Sister'; that at least the first of these was in Alexandria during the events referred to is confirmed by Text 3.

¹ Cf. among others, Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, 286 ff. The eventual date of the Roman ultimatum and the departure of Antiochus can now be determined, with the aid of our Texts 2 and 3.

² Griffith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, iii. 251-3.

³ For an introduction to this subject, see Černý in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 35-48.

α. The root *grp/ghp* appears both as a verb (σῶρν, σῶλην) (Spiegelberg, *Orakelglossar*, no. 268 and *ZAS* 50 (1913), 32; also *Raphia*, 9, 24), and a noun (*grpt*, σῤῃνε). Spiegelberg (*Orakelglossar*) remarks that the same dual meaning of 'be manifest' and 'diadem' occurs with the root *hrt*; for the religious connotations of this, cf. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 3-27. The existence of such symbolism, based presumably on solar imagery, would suggest that attempts, such as that of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 584 and 589, to distinguish semantically between *grp* and *ghp* are probably misguided, the more so since the -l- forms that he shows may be derived from Faiyûmic Petubastis texts. For a writing of the *sdm.f* of the verb as *krp.w*, v. Text 2, R° 10 and note.

aa. Coptic ἀρεπάτ; cf. Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsurkunden*, 194.

bb. More likely to be First Present than the rare First Future with omitted *r*; it is therefore difficult to decide whether the action is to be regarded as taking place at the time of the utterance, or whether the mere truism is being expressed that the birth of the child, whenever it occurs, will be the confirmation of the oracle. This latter is perhaps the sounder conclusion.

Preliminary Remarks

The memorandum published here seems to have been drawn from the official records of the ibis-chapel. It deals with a dream experienced by Ḥor during the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his report before the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς of the Memphite region, which took place some eight or nine years afterwards, in December 159 B.C. It will be seen that material from this memorandum, together with material from Text 2, was reused in the writing of Text 3; the hand, which is a fine Memphite one, may be that of a secretary. The same may well be true of the following document. In view of the discussion of the meaning of such memoranda in *JEA* 58 (1972), 254 ff., it would seem that the writer intended to incorporate this material into a petition of some sort. The reasons for this will, it is hoped, become clear as we proceed.

¹ On ostraca with two inscribed faces the measurements given here are read from the side of the recto. Choice of recto and verso is either decided by the text, or arbitrary.

Text 2

Height ¹	17.8 cm.
Width	14.9 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 6/6
Photograph	Plate III (R°, V°)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-131 [5399]

A finely preserved ostrakon, in pink ware, bearing on the recto sixteen lines of demotic in a fine Memphite hand, and a similar fifteen lines on the verso. Although the surviving writing is remarkably clear, there are traces of considerable changes of mind on the part of its author, with two lines on the recto and one on the verso completely erased, and several phrases inserted into the text. The lines on the verso seem to be a paraphrase of the contents of the recto: they may perhaps represent a recension of some kind.

The document, one of the most remarkable discovered in Egypt, was part of the second batch unearthed by Martin on 3 February 1972.


Text: recto

1. *n-drt Hr p; sh*
2. *rmt dml-(n)-3st nbt tph^a*
3. *t; ntrt r;st n p; tš Tb-ntr^b*
4. *t; rswt (t-)dd-w^c n-l^d (n) p; wd; (n) Rc-kd*
(There follow two erased lines beginning *irm rmt nb* which probably resembled ll. 9 and 10 of the verso).
5. *n; mšcw (n) 3tyks^e cws^f dd tw-f šm n-f^g*
6. *dd tw-f šm n-f^h (n) sgrⁱ r-bl Kmy š;rc*
7. *h;rt-sp 2t 3bd-2 šmw clky. ir-t; cn-smy t; mdt*
**ta^k*
8. *(n) Hrynys (t-)wn-n; s;trks^l h;rt-sp 2t 3bd-2*
šmw sw II^m.
9. *bw-ir-twⁿ Gryn; p; rd 3tyks cws^f*
10. *šm n-f r-bl Mn-nfr. krp-w^o t; mdt *ta^k*
(erased space)

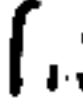
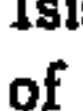

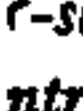
11. *hr rdwy·s^p. bn-pw·f mdt n-lm·w cn^e hb·f (n) hty^r*
 12. *wrt šrt. dt·t-s ((n) n: Pr-cw)^r (n) Pr-Wstr-Hp p: c: nty n Rc-kd hst-sp 2t šbd-3 šmw clkyⁱ*
 13. *n-drt hpr·f^u mdt nbt nty t: y n: y swⁿ t·tr·hr·k^w (n) p: tr*
 14. *rn·f t: nty t: y r·hr·t h^r p: cw (n) t: nty hr n: ntrwⁿ (n) hsty·k.*
 15. *tw·t in n-lm·s t·tr·hr·k dd tw·t in-tw^e (r) Rc-kd*
 16. *hr Tyttis p: sstrks ht (rest erased).*
 17. (erased line)

Text: verso





1. *n-drt Hr p: rmt dml-(n)-3st*
 2. *nbt tph t: ntrt c: t (n) p: tš Tb^{aa}*
 3. (erasures) *hb Hrynys (n) hty*
 4. *wn wrt šrt^{bb}. dt·t-s (n) n: Pr-cw*
 5. *(n) Pr-Wstr-Hp p: c: nty n Rc-kd n^{cc}*
 6. *hst-sp 2t šbd-3 šmw clky. n: mdt-nfrw (t)tr·t cn-smv*
 7. *n-lm·w n^{dd} hst-sp 2t šbd-2 šmw sw II bw·tr·tw Gry^{ee}*
 8. *p: rd 3tyks^{ff} šm n·f r-bl Mn-nfr.*
 9. *tw·t cš p: wd: n Rc-kd irm rmt nb nty hn·f*
 10. *t·tr hpr hn p: šhn nfr (n) n: Pr-cw. bn-pw·w pnc^{gg}*
 11. *irm t: nty t: y n: mšw 3tyks cws^{hh} irm*
 12. *p: y·f mšc dd tw·f šm n·f r-bl Kmy ((n) sgr) šc hst-sp 2t šbd-2 šmw clky*
 13. *n-drt hpr·f wn wrt mdt c: t hrⁱⁱ hn n: mdt nty sh (n) t: šrt*
 14. *p: tr (n) tr-nb hr^{jj} t: ht-mdt rn·s. [[p:]]^{kk} hpr p: sdny (n) 3st t: ntrt c: t^{ll}*
 15. *irm Dhwtv p: c: p: c: p: c: hr mdt nbt nty t: y n: y.*
 (at the end of this line, and upon the one following, the phrase *dd n·t* [] *rswt* has been written, but erased).

¹ Cf. Montet, *Géographie*, i. 105 and n. 9.² Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum*, no. 5 (pl. IV); Spiegelberg, *Musées Royaux du Cinquantième*, 14.³ Note the hieroglyphic writing of this word as  in the

Notes: recto

a. A cult title of Isis which occurs here and in the corresponding place on the verso. The reading *nbt* seems plausible; the following element is written here , on the verso . In the context of Isis and the Sebennyte nome, one thinks immediately of *Hbyl*, Behbeit el-Hagār, but this reading is palaeographically weak, and the group lacks any place determinative. In view of our reading of  above as *pr-mh*, a transliteration **mhy* suggests itself, and furthermore the goddess (*Hst*)-*mhyt*, known to have been worshipped in this part of the Delta,¹ but this has the disadvantage of being quite unattested. The reading *pt*, though prosaic, fails to conform with the writings of this word in Text 10. However, there is a close resemblance to a group occurring in Pap. Louvre 2412, l. 4,² where among various endowments we read of the sixth part of a forecourt *nty hr thny cnh-twy (n) p: c-sbt thny hr p: c: rs*  *Iy-m-htp s: Pth p: ntr c:*; the word, not transliterated in the publications, is perhaps to be read *tph*, the older *tph* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 628 and *Wb.* v. 364, with the meaning '(sacred) cavern'),³ and this identification is tentatively suggested in the present passage. A similar word appears in Text 23, R^o 4; see note *ad locum*.

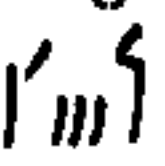


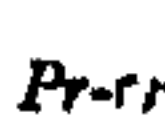
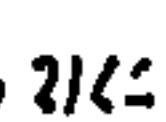
b. The first full writing of the nome: see index for a complete list of the occurrences of this common name. The texts seem to yield two writings, neither resembling the published examples; the identification is proposed on *a priori* grounds, and on the identification of *Dml-(n)-3st* with the *ἱεῖος πόλις* of Greek Text C, which is said to lie in the nome of Sebennytos:

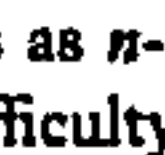
- (i) Texts which can reasonably lay claim to a Memphite palaeography (1, 2, 7, 19, 24, 26, 31A) show the writing  (* with supra-linear stroke)
 (ii) The remaining texts, which show a large ungainly hand, generally write  without the second sign. Reasons will later be given for believing that this hand is that of Hor himself, that it is Sebennytic, and that therefore 

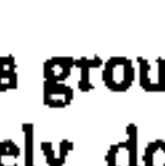
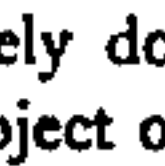
Bellagio statuette of Prahotpe (Brunner, *JEA* 54 (1968), 131 ff.). On the *tph* *dt*, a cult area at Memphis associated with the *šyt* v. Borghouts, *Magical Texts of Pap. Leiden I*, 348, 194-8.

which does not normally follow *bn-pw*; the meaning is presumably 'he spoke no more of them'.

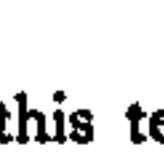
r. Another problem; the following examples occur:

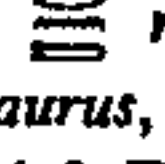
- (i) Text 2, R^o 11-12: *hb-f* |  *wrt krt*
- (ii) Ibid. V^o 3-4: *hb Hrynys* |  : *wn wrt krt*
- (iii) Text 19, R^o 18: *hb-w* |  *n Rr-kd*
- (iv) Text 22, R^o 3: *hb n* | *Pr-rw* |  | 

A striking feature of this group is the change in the final element: in the last example it is clearly written . It is tempting to read this as *n-lm-s*, letting the variant stand for *n-lm-w*; the difficulty then lies with

. The obvious reading of this group would be *hr-t* () 'myself', but it is extremely doubtful whether this word could be used as the object of a *sdm-f* in the way demanded by our examples; at the least, one would need to assume a complete suppression of the dependent pronoun *wl*. Furthermore, this reading, although yielding excellent sense in example (iv), strains the syntax of the others, particularly (iii), in a very abrupt way. One is therefore obliged to feel that the word is a unity; but the reading (*n*) *hty* and the translation offered here are conjectures.¹

s. Inserted: see note to translation below.

t. The writing of *smw* and *rlky* much abbreviated; the present reading is confirmed by V^o 6, and by Text 3, V^o 14. The scribe of the present text writes *smw* in both examples as .

u. A phrase which recurs in this text, V^o 13, and alone on the V^o of Text 10. Its meaning is determined by the hieroglyphic translation  *r-ntt* in l. 9 of the Tanis Stela (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1555) and the use of *ἐπειδή* in Greek versions (cf. Daumas, *Moyens d'expression*, 87 ff.). The following phrase is again a favoured idiom, cf. this text, V^o 15, and Text 4, R^o *passim*, where *t nty try* is used constantly to introduce themes excerpted from an oracle. It seems clear from these examples that *try* in this phrase is used to mean 'refer to', and that, for example, **t nty try n ntrw* corresponds to the Greek *τὰ τῶν θεῶν*. Wherever the phrase appears, I have transliterated the article as the

singular *t* (sc. *mdt*), but short of an unambiguous writing, the plural *n* is also quite possible.

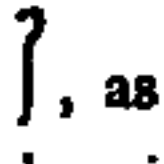
v. Presumably Qualitative, the neuter meaning of *mdt nbt* encouraging the tendency to omit even the feminine ending of this form.

w. The *k* is obscured by a striation running across the surface of the ostrakon.

x. In its use, common in these texts, of paraphrasing a vague expression ('namely', 'that is'); this therefore differs slightly from the similar *dd*, which nearly always implies the reason for what precedes.

y. Yet another equivalent of *τὰ τῶν θεῶν* (v. note u above). In Tanis Stela, 12, *t nty hr Hp* corresponds to *hr ht* (pl.) *Hp* in the hieroglyphic version.

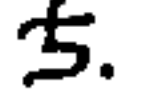
z. A common Memphite writing of the Qualitative *nat*, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 21.

aa. The scribe has written , as in the writing of the place-name *Tb-tn*, as an abbreviation. The erasure following may have been **twf hn Mn-nfr*, or a similar phrase.

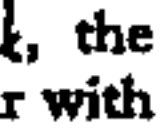
bb. The syntax of the sentences here is difficult: *dt-t-s* cannot be linked to *krt* as a relative form, because it is clearly followed by an object-suffix (Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 549). *wn wrt krt* is therefore left hanging, unless our interpretation of the preceding group (note r above) is at fault.

cc. It is difficult to decide whether the final horizontal line is a space-filler, or a writing of *n*; but the preposition is clearly written before the date in l. 7 below.

dd. The mark which appears above *n* here is probably part of the palimpsest, which again seems to have been **Hrynys*.

ee. A different spelling from that of the R^o, but the same as in Text 3, V^o 11. The scribe may possibly have had difficulty with the final syllable. The determinative seems to be a highly cursive writing of .

ff. For the reading see note e above. It is tempting here to attach significance to the use of the 'foreigner' determinative instead of the honorific ending of a cartouche, and perhaps even more tempting to read significance into the cartouche itself; but the presence of the cartouche around the name of Antiochus in the Raphia stela, where he is nothing if not a defeated enemy, suggests that it was standard practice among demotic

¹ The final sign of the group may perhaps be , the determinative of *hty* (*χατρε*) 'twin'; but this can occur with

the related word for horse ('yoked animal'). Can this here be used metaphorically to describe a dispatch rider?

scribes to ascribe a cartouche to anyone who held the title of βασιλεύς, no matter where his kingdom. Even the use of the 'foreign' determinative implies little: common enough at the end of many Greek names, it even occurs frequently in the names of the early Ptolemies, as equally in that of (Augustus) Caesar.¹ Unless the hazardous assumption is made that these writings represent a conscious act of hostility towards the ruling powers, such determinatives should be treated more as indications that the spelling of such names is not yet fixed; in the case of our writings of Antiochus Epiphanes (whose sojourn in Egypt was brief), this conclusion is supported by Text 4, R° 8, where the name appears as 3tykys, and by the curious example in Text 3, V° 14, where the ending of the cartouche appears, but without the *rw*s!² In the historical discussion below (Commentary, § 2), the evidence for Antiochus' seizure of the Egyptian throne will be reviewed, and it would seem strong enough not to need the support of the demotic spellings.

gg. πωωνε, Crum, 264, though the use with *irm* is unparalleled. Note the parallel phrase in Text 22, R° 8-9.

hh. Here the 'foreigner' determinative seems to have been changed to *rw*s. See note ff above.

ii. For *hr* as a writing of *hr*(t) 'measure', cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 347; here perhaps a writing of the Qualitative *ὑπογ* (Boh.) (Crum, 574b). For the metaphoric use with words, cf. perhaps the example on 548a (ΔΝΥΥ ΠΑΧΙ ὑπογ).

jj. Offered with extreme reserve; the entire group may perhaps read *nw* (πνγ), but this yields rather a weak translation. For *ir-nb*, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 214 (= φροντίζειν).

kk. Difficult to reconcile with the syntax; perhaps the scribe changed his mind during the process of writing. The omission of this word enables the sense to be restored.

ll. Badly squashed into the margin, and tentative.

Translation: recto

1. From Hor the scribe
2. a man of the town of Isis,^a lady of the cavern,
3. the great goddess, in the nome (of) Seben-nytos
4. The dream which was told to me^b of the safety of Alexandria

¹ Cf. Papyrus Carlsberg 67, dated to Year 25 of Augustus (from Tebtynis).

² See also note hh below.

5. (and) the journeyings of 3tyks,^c namely that he would go
6. [[that he would go]] by sail^d from Egypt by^e
7. Year 2, Paoni, final day.^f I reported the said matter^g
8. (to) Hrynys, who was *strategos*, (in) Year 2, Paoni, day 11^h.
9. Grynⁱ, the agent of 3tyks, had not yet
10. left Memphis.ⁱ (But) the said matters were revealed
11. immediately. He did not speak of them further, (but) he sent in the hour (?)
12. a letter. I gave it ((to) the Pharaohs)^j in the Great Serapeum which is in Alexandria,^k in Year 2, Epeiph, final day.^l
13. For every matter which refers to this was compensation for you^m (at) the time
14. in question (for) that which concerns me, namely, the greatness towards that which concerns the gods (in) your heart.ⁿ
15. I brought it before you,^m for I came to Alexandria
16. with^o Tytts the *strategos*, namely [*the rest is erased*].

Translation: verso

1. From Hor the man (of) the town of Isis,
2. lady of the cavern, the great goddess, (in) the nome (of) Seb(ennytos).
3. (erasures) Hrynys sent within the hour (?).
4. Account of a letter: I gave it to the Pharaohs
5. (in) the Great Serapeum which is in Alexandria, in
6. Year 2, Epeiph, final day, (namely), the blessings which I reported
7. in Year 2, Paoni, day 11, (when) Gryn,^p
8. the agent of 3tyks, had not yet left Memphis.
9. I read out the salvation of Alexandria and every man who was within it,
10. which happened through the good disposition^q (of) the Pharaohs. None could controvert

11. that which referred to the journeyings of *ḥtyks* and
12. his army,¹ namely, that he would leave Egypt (by sail) by Year 2, Paoni, final day.
13. For there was a great matter measured within the words written (in) the letter,
14. (at) the time of paying heed to the utterance in question. There came about the counsel² of Isis, the great goddess,
15. and Thoth, the three times great,³ in every matter which concerned these things [*more erasures*].

Notes

a. This 'town of Isis' (Temenēsi) clearly corresponds to the ἱεῖος πόλις of Greek Texts C and E, and is the alternative home of the narrator. An attempt to reconcile the two places of origin named in the texts will be given in the Commentary below. At present, the difficulty lies in trying to locate this name. Pliny the Elder, it is true, does mention an *Isidis oppidum* in the Seben-nyte nome, and this is generally taken to refer to the great cult-centre of Isis at Ehbō,⁴ the modern Behbeit el-Hagār (see P. Oxyrhynchus 1380, 33, note, = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xi. 208). There are, however, strong objections to equating this well-known site with our *dmi-(n)-ḥst*:

- (i) Behbeit in late sources is regularly ἱεῖον, not ἱεῖος πόλις (Stephanus Byzantius, *Geography of Ravenna*, cf. Ball, *Egypt in Classical Geographers*, 172).
- (ii) Behbeit already has an Egyptian name: *Ḥbyṯ* or *Pr-Ḥbyṯ* (Montet, *Géographie*, i. 107).

Against this it might be argued that *Ḥbyṯ* could well be the religious name of a town known commonly as (*p*) *dmi-n-ḥst*, that there are unlikely to have been two cult-centres of Isis within the same nome, especially if Temenēsi is taken to be a place of some importance, and that the equation of *Isidis oppidum* with Behbeit el-Hagār may be wrong; but none of these objections is conclusive, and therefore we must reject the identification for lack of evidence.

b. For this idiom, see above, p. 10, note *ff* to Text 1 above.

¹ This vocalization of *Ḥbyṯ* is strongly suggested by the Manethonian version Νεκτανηβώς for *Nḥt-Ḥr-(n)-Ḥbyṯ* (*νεκταρπῆεβω): the word has the same phonetic development as *Ḥbyṯ* > τῆω (Edfu), *mryṯ* > ἄρω, *sbryṯ* > σῆω,

c. For this phrase, which means in essence 'the retreat of Antiochus', cf. also Text 4, R° 8.

d. Presumably from Pelusium to Antioch. This detail does not at first sight agree with the account in Polybius (xxix. 27, 8); see Commentary below for an attempt to reconcile this difference.

e. An idiomatic use of *ḥr*, cf. *ḥr* ἡρακλῆος, Crum, 542a.

f. 30 July 168 B.C. The use of 'Year 2' (a dating by the joint reign), suggests that this text is either a contemporary account, or closely based on one.

g. For this conventional translation see note *k* above.

h. 11 July 168 B.C.

i. The only thing which *Gryn* does of importance in these texts is to fail to leave Memphis; the implications of this negative are, however, of great interest (see Commentary, § 2 below).

j. i.e. Ptolemy VI Philometor, and his brother; the sister Cleopatra may perhaps also be intended in the expression.

k. The reading *p* *nḥm* 'the saviour' is palaeographically less likely. The Great Serapeum with its adjoining libraries formed the major landmark of the south of the city, so much so that by the Roman period at Alexandria Sarapis was honoured with the epithet πολιοῦχος (H. Henne, *MIFAO* lxxvii. 2 (1937) = *Mélanges Maspero*, ii. 297-307). The great temple had been the site of building projects under the first four Ptolemies² (A. Rowe, *Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, passim*; A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, 'A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert, IV: The Great Serapeum of Alexandria', in *Bull. J. Rylands Library*, 1956-7, 485-520), and the cult statue was probably installed by Ptolemy I (Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden, 1972), 25; 90-1). The early history of the Sarapis cult has been dealt with in two articles by P. M. Fraser ('Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis' in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 3 (1960), 1-54, and 'Current Problems', *ibid.* 7 (1965), 23-45. See now the same author's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), i. 268-70; ii. 84 ff.; iii. 71). Unfortunately our text does not make clear what the Pharaohs were doing in the Alexandrian Serapeum during this time of crisis: see Commentary below, § 1.

l. 29 August 168 B.C.

m. It seems clear that at this point *Ḥor* is addressing

Wḥdyt > -ουτώ, etc.

² Even, according to the Pseudo-Callisthenes, under Alexander!

Philometor directly, and that the singular pronoun represents the suppression, unconscious or (more likely) conscious, of 'the Brother': see note *a* to Demotic Text A above, and the information in Text 3 below, as well as Commentary § 1 below.

n. This characteristically awkward sentence may perhaps be paraphrased, 'For all of this was done at that time in recompense to you for that which concerns me, namely, your magnanimity towards the gods.'

o. For this concomitant meaning of *hr*, cf. Crum, 644b, *ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉⲛⲓ*.

p. The change of spelling perhaps reflects difficulty with the final syllable -ων; the name corresponds either to Κρέων (Preisigke, 186), or, more likely, to the commoner Κλέων (ibid., 176). See note *i* above, also note *ee*, and the Commentary *ad locum*.

q. For *shn nfr*, v. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 446.

r. The word *mšr* in our texts seems generally to carry the meaning 'people'; cf. perhaps Text 3, R° 9, *pṛ sbty* (*n*) *pṛy-k mšr*; Text 7, 5; and almost certainly Text 19, V° 10 *pṛ mšr n Pr-Wštr-Hp*; and parallel texts.¹ The word *mtgt(y)*, however, seems confined to a military sense: *Hrynys* in Text 1, 8, is *hr tḥ hst tḥ mtgt*, and subsequent references, notably Text 4, R° 1, leave us in little doubt that his position was military. This is confirmed by the Greek translation in *Rosettana*, 7 as δύναις. The mention of the word in Text 12, V° 3 is therefore of some interest: see note *ad locum*.

s. For *stny/sdny*, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 480; the present spelling corresponds fairly closely to the Bohairic ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓ (Crum, 615b). For a recurrence of the word in our texts, v. Text 12, V° 4 (in the spelling *sgn*).

t. Clearly the demotic parallel to the Greek τρισμέγιστος. Early recurrences of this epithet have been discussed by Turner and Skeat in their publication of the Greek texts (*JEA* 54 (1968), 208), where it appears that the Saqqâra ostraca form the earliest unequivocal testimony to the title. One should add the comparative Egyptian material in Chassinat, *Dendera*, i. 30: *Dhwtj* ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓ *wr* (an interesting parallelism to μεγίστου... μεγίστου... μεγάλου), and the ostrakon from Tûna el-Gebel where Θωυθ ω ω ω νοβ Ζμουν (= *Dhwtj*

ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓ *nb Hmnw*) occurs in a Greek text (V. Girgis in *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 121); the date is not certain, but it can hardly be earlier than 111 B.C. At present, it would perhaps be best to confine oneself to the observation that the title fits much more naturally into an Egyptian Text than into a classical Greek one.²

Preliminary Observations

This ostrakon represents an attempt, with re-writing and erasures, to produce a coherent account of the events of the summer of 168 B.C., and of the author's contribution to them. The text looks very much like a preliminary draft, and even the final version lacks absolute clarity; but it is clearly either contemporary, or (more likely in view of the address to Philometor alone) a later account based on contemporary material, for it dates events by the joint reign of the two Ptolemies, and this system was abandoned after May 163 B.C.³ This early account seems in turn to have been rewritten, and the result is our Text 3, which follows.

TEXT 3

Height	23.6 cm.
Width	16.5 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm. (ave.)
Munsell	2.5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate IV (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate IVA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-26 [455]

A large reddish ostrakon, taken from the side of a storage vessel, with characteristic curvature and grooved rim, and ribbed verso. The recto bears twenty-seven lines of demotic, tightly written, in a hand which is not that of the two preceding texts, and the verso bears a further twenty-five in the same hand. There are clear

¹ Note the interesting bilingual text in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 901, l. 3, where *pṛ mšr* corresponds to hieroglyphic *rhyt*.

² At this point the extremely important question arises of the extent of Egyptian influence on the Hermetic literature. Space does not permit discussion here, but v. B. H. Stricker in *Mnemosyne* (*Bibl. Class. Batava*), Fourth Series, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1949), 79, and in *Verhand. Koning. Ned. Akad. van Wetenschap, Afd. Letterk.*, Decl. 62, no. 4 (Amsterdam,

1956); also Krause in *ZDMG*, Suppl. I (1969), part I, 48-57. The present writer, though hardly to be considered expert, is of the opinion that the Hermetica, far from being assigned to the limbo of the alchemist, should be treated extremely seriously as source-material for Egyptian religion (at least in its later forms).

³ Pestman, *Chronologie*, 50 ff.

signs of erasures and changes of intention by the scribe, together with refillings of the pen. The text opens with a long encomium to Pharaoh.¹ A photograph of this ostrakon has already appeared in *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. I, no. 1.

Text: recto

1. *Pr-ε Ptwm̄ys rws p̄ry·n h̄ry p̄ nb (n) Kmy lrm*
2. *t̄ Pr-εst (K̄rwpt̄r̄)ᵃ n̄ ntrw mr-mwt·w nty w̄sh-shnᵇ n R̄c-k̄d: n̄-nfr n·kᵃ*
3. *t̄ rnpt. t̄ry·k rnpt nfr̄ rnpt nbt nty lw·w t̄y. n̄-nfr n·k*
4. *t̄ryᵃ lrm·w. (n̄-nfr·sᵃ (n) p̄ry·k š̄ry n̄-nfr·s (n) t̄ry·k š̄pšy*
5. *(n̄-nfr·sᵃ n̄ n̄ rmtwᵃ nty r̄šy lw·w n̄w r·kᵃ wpy·sᵃ 3st*
6. *t̄ nbt (n) t̄ gr̄pyt̄ nty (r) d̄d̄r̄·k. bn-lwᵃ gr̄ ntr bl·s*
7. *t̄-lrᵐ-shy (n) t̄ry·k d̄nlt h̄ryᵐ. nts (t̄)ᵐ nty h̄rh p̄ k̄hy*
8. *(n) Kmy. bn-lw·k snt m̄šr, D̄hwt̄y lrm·k lw·f r̄š n·k sh̄ (n) dlt n·kᵃ*
9. *p̄ d̄ry p̄ sbty (n) p̄ry·k m̄šr p̄ wd̄ (n) t̄ry·k d̄nlt h̄ry. t̄-lr*
10. *p̄ry·k r̄š-shn nty t̄y hr̄ hrwᵃ [[n p̄]] [mn sp-sn] mn sp-snᵃ*
11. *(n) t̄ry 3stᵃ. bw-lr·s wy r·k w̄mwt nbt d̄d mr·k-s. h̄pr ntkᵃ*
12. *p̄ š̄r (n) p̄ry·s š̄r. d̄l·s h̄pr sh̄ny-nfr nbᵃ n-lm·k. d̄l·s m̄s·kᵃ*
13. *(t̄py iht sw 12ᵐ) p̄ h̄bᵃ ε (n) D̄hwt̄y p̄ry·s t̄t. hr̄ nfr h̄ity·sᵃ n-lm·f hr̄ rnpt*
14. *r-d̄b̄ n̄ mdt-nfrw t̄-lr h̄pr n-lm·k(?)ᵃ p̄ hrw rn·f(st sh̄ hn(?)ᵐ nty lw p̄ r̄h-*
15. *rd smn (p̄ sh̄) hr̄ r̄ (t̄ ḡ h̄rt)ᵐᵃ (n) t̄ h̄t-ntr (n) Pr-D̄hwt̄yᵃ t̄-lr·hr̄*
16. *rmt nb (n) p̄ t̄ [t̄-d̄l·k (n) D̄hwt̄y p̄ r̄h(?) l̄h̄ p̄ r̄nh̄ p̄ wr-d̄tw hb̄]ᵐᵃ. t̄-lr*
17. *n̄ry·kᵃ n̄ rmtwᵃ (nty lw·w) t̄ry-s̄ibᵃ n-lm·k. hr̄ lr r·k 3st t̄ym m̄hyᵃ nb*

18. *lw·s d̄d m̄rt(?)ᵐᵃ d̄d lr·k hn̄ n̄ ntrw bn-lr·k hn̄*
19. *n̄ rmtwᵃ ln̄. (nt̄k) ε (n) h̄ity·k. nfr n̄ry·k s̄dy. snt·k t̄ nty*
20. *[[t̄ nty]] hr̄ᵐ n̄ ntrw. m̄tw·k h̄ity m̄nh̄*
21. *wb̄ n̄ rmtw. d̄l·kᵐ mn(?) p̄ spy (n) t̄ry·k lwᵃᵐ*
22. *[]ᵐᵃ lr·k h̄ir (n) h̄ity·kᵐᵐ n̄ 3st (mdt nbt) lr·k (n) gy*
23. *(n) 3st n̄ gylᵐ nb. bn-lw·k r̄šᵐ n̄*
24. *ntr m-s̄ 3st lw·s r̄h̄[k]ᵐᵐ w̄rt·sᵐᵐ*
25. *t̄ w̄rt w̄rt·s t̄ry t̄-snt(?)*
26. *h̄h w̄rtᵐ lr·s sh̄n·k lrm*
27. *n̄ry·k t̄ryw dr-wᵃ*

Text: verso

1. *3st ln̄ n̄ sh̄n(w)ᵃ (n) p̄ry·k š̄r n̄ h̄t-ntr Mn-nfr lrm*
2. *n̄ry·f h̄rdw m-s̄·f s̄sw ky lw·f r̄šy m-š̄sᵃ t̄-lr·k*
3. *r̄ š̄mᵃ (n) r̄wy 3st lw·sᵃ dlt wd̄ p̄ry·k r̄h̄ lw·s dlt n̄ry·k*
4. *d̄dyᵃ hr̄ rdwy·kᵃ lw·s dltᵃ n·k (n) p̄ry·s rn(?)ᵃ n̄ nty t̄knᵃ*
5. *n̄ t̄šw t̄-lr·kᵃ w̄h̄ lw·w lr n·k š̄kr hr̄ []ᵃ*
6. *t̄ wpt̄ 3st t̄ Pr-εst (n) tm(?) nb nty w̄sh-shn*
7. *(n) p̄ t̄ dr·fᵃ d̄l·t sh̄ t̄ry·t̄ n̄hyᵐ hr̄-w cnᵃ*
8. *w̄n n̄ mdt (t̄)lr·t̄ r̄n-sm̄y (n) H̄rynys n-lm·w*
9. *r-d̄b̄ d̄dᵃ n̄-l̄ (n) r̄swt t̄ mdt *taᵃ p̄ tr (t̄)w̄n-n̄ Kmy*
10. *pn̄k n-lm·f (n) R̄c-k̄d. h̄nnᵃ 3tyks r̄ws n̄*
11. *pr-m̄h̄ Pr-3wrys. bw-lr·tw Grȳ p̄ry·f rd*
12. *wy Mn-nfr n̄ h̄it-sp 13 ibd-2 š̄m̄w sw 1. bn-pw H̄ry-*
13. *nys n̄ht n̄ mdt *naᵃ r-h̄mᵃ (r) š̄m*
14. *bl Pr-lr-Tmn̄ (t̄)lr̄ 3tyksᵃ h̄it-sp 13 ibd-3 š̄m̄w r̄lky.*
15. *t̄-lr H̄rynys pyᵃ n̄ry h̄it-sp 13 ibd-3 š̄m̄w r̄lky t̄*
16. *lr̄ 3mnys nty hn̄ t̄ h̄ityᵃ lrm 3rk-*
17. *h̄rtsᵃ nty hr̄ Mn-nfr [[p̄]] sh̄ᵃ n̄ m̄šrw mdt nbt.*

¹ This text occasions difficulty in spite of its excellent preservation. Palimpsest writings (ll. 5, 10, and large parts of

15, 16, and 21) and the general obscurity of the phraseology must cast doubt upon many of the readings offered here,

18. *wn-nr-w sh t: šrt tw-s ph. dl-w šrt rn-s (n)*
Pr-r: ((t:)) Pr-r:t)^{aa}
 19. *Pturmys^{bb} lrm-f (n) Pr-Wštr-Ḥp p: r: nty n*
 20. *Rc-kd (n) hst-sp 13 šbd-3 šmw clky. mšc Pr-r:*
 21. *(r) Mn-nfr hr rdwy. mšc Nwmnys*
 22. *(r) Hrm:'. mšc Tynys*
 23. *(r) Pr-lr-'Imn. dwn-s^{dd} n: šhw*
 24. *bn-pw rmt dlr-mdt*
 25. *(n) p: tr rn-f.*

Notes: recto

a. Inserted as an afterthought, and obscured by the dynastic epithet below; the final signs (*rws*?) are particularly open to doubt.

b. On very close inspection both Smith and the present writer became convinced that the scribe had written *ⲡⲓⲓⲓ*, with the last sign representing the plural suffix, and the penultimate altered from *ⲓ*; perhaps the scribe had written *r: y*, as at the beginning of Text 7. For the dynastic epithets of Philometor, see Pestman, *Chronologie*, 48, where *n: ntrw ntr mwt-w* is shown to follow the marriage of the King with his sister, although not commonly used in dating-formulae during the reign. The reading acquires some confirmation from the mention of *Nwmnys* on l. 21 of the verso (q.v.). For the snake determinative to *shn* cf. l. 26 below, and the note to verso, l. 6.

c. Again the singular pronoun, showing that the recipient is really Philometor alone.

d. *ⲓⲓⲓ* here seems to be a writing of the demonstrative pronoun *ⲑⲁⲓ* (sc. *rnpt*).

e. The omission of *n:-* here is more likely to be due to the cursiveness of the scribe than to any difference of phonology or syntax.

f. A long sloping stroke, resembling *r*, which, however, fits the sense badly.

g. The cursive *ⲡⲓ* also in ll. 17 and 19, and in Text 1, 5 (*n: rmtw r: y*). Extreme abbreviation of this sort is characteristic of this hand, which is perhaps to be considered that of Ḥor himself.

h. A clear example of *nty* as a non-limiting relative, a sense frequently denied to it. The sense presumably is that all men look upon Pharaoh, not that only the section of the populace who choose to do so are happy.

i. The metaphor of 'opening' a year is clear enough

from the early *wpt-rnpt* (*Wb.* i. 300) and in the 'new year formula', *wpt DN rnpt nfrt n NN*. Its use suggests that we are here dealing with a greeting addressed upon an anniversary of some sort. For similar examples cf. Pap. Loeb 4, 2-3, and Erichsen, *Schulübung* (1947), 13 ('Schön sei dir das Jahr, dein Jahr sei schön').

j. See note *x* to the translation of Text 1 above, p. 14: the snake determinative appears here as in *wšh-shn* (note to verso, l. 6).

k. The palimpsest here has *Pr-r:*.

l. An alternative writing of *ky*, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 570 and 558.

m. The preceding *bn-tw* suggests that, if we discount the possibility that the scribe has added a futuristic *r* into the construction, we are dealing with a writing of the infinitive alone. The answer, as often in these texts, perhaps lies in the later Bohairic dialect, when *tr-shy* preserves an initial vowel (*ⲉⲣⲱⲱⲱⲱ*, Crum, 59b); Sahidic has lost this vowel from the construct infinitive *ⲡ*.

n. The phrase also in Text 4, R° 6, where it clearly refers to the Ptolemaic kingdom. The metaphor of 'portion, inheritance' for *dnst* is clear enough, but the use of *hry* is less comprehensible; perhaps it carries the meaning 'derived from above (or from the forefathers)', or it may simply mean 'supreme', cf. Tanis Stela, 8, where *t: tnot hryt* in the demotic version corresponds to *ist-f wrt* in the hieroglyphic, and in l. 15 (*n: rmtw nty hr t: y f twt hry*) corresponds to *m ndy n hm-f*, while in l. 21 the hieroglyphic translation reads *twt-sn n hky-twy*.

o. Presumably omitted by haplography.

p. Perhaps modelled on the idea of contracts such as the *sh n snh* (Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge*, 8), though hardly likely to be a technical term itself.

q. From this point much of the text is obscured by the palimpsest which here has *n: y*.

r. Very difficult. The first writing of *mn* (which often occurs in these texts preceded by *ⲓ*) seems to have been a failure in the scribe's eyes, and he has written *mn sp-sn* again beyond the smudged area. The traces between *hrw* and *mn*, which may correspond to *n p: (?)* make little sense (unless we attempt to read *p: nty mn sp-sn*, which is very awkward), and should perhaps be disregarded, but without excessive confidence.

s. It is presumably this phrase which is emphasized by the Second Present of l. 9, end.

t. At this point the alternative *hpr mtw-k p: šr (n) p: y: šr*, 'there has been born in your possession (*ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲕ*) the son of her son', i.e. a reference to the promised child of Text 1, is full of interest, but extremely

awkward syntactically, and has been rejected here. The genealogy here (Thoth-Isis-Horus-Pharaoh) is of great significance, see below, note *h* to the translation.

u. This position of *nb* shows that *shny-nfr* is to be regarded as a compound, such as *mdt-nfrt*, and perhaps *shn-nfr* above.

v. Here again it is tempting to take this as transitive, 'she has caused you to give birth' (to the promised son), but there are very grave grammatical objections to this meaning of **meclon*, and the general context suggests that we are celebrating the birthday of Philometor himself. See below, note to translation.

w. Inserted: the same date, also described as 'the festival of Thoth', occurs in Text 8, R^o 1, and in both instances doubt exists whether *sw* 15 should not be read instead of *sw* 12, particularly so as the fifteenth day in the old lunar calendar, upon which religious ceremonies were still based, would be the day of the full moon, and thus ideal for a festival of Thoth.¹ But neither the writings in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 708-9, nor the unpublished Serapeum papyrus (see above, p. 9, note *h* to Text 1) support the reading, and *sw* 12 has been read here. The festival of Thoth, which I have been unable to trace in other sources, may of course have lasted from day 12 until, or even beyond, the fifteenth day of the month which bore his name.

x. See note to the writing in Text 8, R^o 1.

y. The small stroke immediately before this word seems to have no meaning.

z. The scribe may perhaps have written *3st*, upon filling his pen, and then altered the word.

aa. An insertion, apparently abandoned and replaced by *p' sh* in the line below.

bb. Extremely obscure, especially the signs at the end here taken as the feminine ending of *hrt*.

cc. Here, as in Text 23, R^o 2, clearly the cult-buildings associated with the ibis-galleries at Saqqāra. The writing here casts a certain doubt on our reading *Pr-Dhwtj* for a different group above (Text 1, 1 and note *ad locum*, p. 8), a doubt which we can explain only by assuming a different pronunciation of *Pr* (**qim* for *m* or the like), or a differing tradition of writing; the latter is perhaps more likely.

dd. Almost entirely obscured by erasures, and the palimpsest which here has *l-tr p' y-k* (altered to *ny-k*) *nr rmtw* as in the text for the following line. The text is given with all reserve, and even the syntax is dubious.

ee. Presumably a writing of the possessive pronoun *noyn*; but the syntax is again far from certain.

ff. See note to Text 1, 3, above.

gg. Both *tym* (ταειμα) and *mhy* (μαοειγε, Crum, 211b) were suggested by Smith.

hh. Very dubious: *mdt* would be a better reading, were it not for the absurdity of **hw-s dd mdt dd*.

ii. The second phrase seems to be dittography; for the idiom, see Text 2, R^o 14 and note.

jj. The palimpsest, which again obscures the text,

shows traces of a determinative

kk. *rwt* has also been written, and it is an open question which is the palimpsest; *rwt* has the advantage of serving as a support for *ty-k*.

ll. I regret that I cannot read these traces: *my* is hardly likely.

mm. *šm* is possible, but weak, but the sense of this clause is rather elusive. *h'r* is perhaps best taken as Qualitative after *tr-k*; (*n*) must then be understood before *h'ity-k*.

nn. *soeile* (Crum, 808a), in the meaning 'stranger'. A paronomasia may be intended with *gy* above.

oo. The group looks suspiciously like *ky*, which may have been written (it is difficult otherwise to account for *k* at the top of the line); but this leaves no verb for the sentence, and we have already seen one instance of *ky* already in this text, written as *gy*. The text as given, however, is far from being thought certain.

pp. This *k* can hardly be the object pronoun, for the circumstantial would normally require **n-lm-k*; we are forced to conclude that this is the old first person ending of the Qualitative, perhaps no longer pronounced and misapplied to the third person feminine (Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 98, end). A reading *kt*, involving the sign in the following line read *ty*, is possible, but rather unconvincing: one would expect from Text 10 a feminine *t* to follow.

qq. Reading suggested by Smith.

rr. The initial group in the line presents difficulties: it occurs frequently in Text 18, and in line 16 of the recto the name of the necropolis of Abydos, *rlk-hh* (Αλχαί) contains the group as its second element. The reading *hh* is therefore proposed here, but it must be admitted that this will not suit all its appearances in our texts, and the identification is open to serious doubt.

¹ Cf. Parker, *Calendars*, 13 ff., and O. Neugebauer and A. Volten, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, Abt. B, Band 4 (Berlin, 1938), 383-406 (Pap. Carlsberg 9).

The juxtaposition of *hh* and *w* is abrupt, but perhaps acceptable.

ss. A slight anacoluthon: *p: shn n nry-k tryw dr-w* would be the full version. *shn* from the determinative is more likely to be a noun in its own right than an infinitive used nominally.

Notes: verso

a. More likely plural of *shn* with unwritten plural ending, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 446, than a feminine *shn(t)*.

b. A clear parallel to Text 1, 16-17: q.v.

c. Presumably an example of the extremely rare Second Future, cf. Rylands IX, 6/1; 6/6; 13/19.

d. More likely a reading than *whs*.

e. *πασε* (Crum, 799b); for the notion, cf. Rosettana, 1, where *nty hr pty-f ddy* corresponds to ἀντιπάλων ὑπέρτερος.

f. A parallel to this phrase below in Text 7, 8-9.

g. Note two entirely different writings of *dlt* within the same line.

h. Not palaeographically certain, and it must be admitted that *pty-s rn* is a strange substitute for *rn-s*, but I can suggest no other reading.

i. *tg[]* is visible (perhaps corresponding to τωσν?), but the restoration is merely conjecture.

j. A writing of the relative with *r*, though why the scribe should avoid **(t)wh-k* is unknown. For *skr* (ⲥⲣ) see Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), 71.

k. The final sign seems to resemble *ph*, but I cannot interpret the other traces. *rnpt* is a faint possibility after *hr*.

l. A parallel to this entire phrase in Text 10, 16-17. The problem occurs in the group which is written after *Pr-rit* in both these examples. The reading proposed here is tentative; see Appendix 1 for a list of the epithets conferred upon Isis in our documents.

m. This seems to be a rather garbled writing of a word which occurs clearly in Text 29, 9, where it seems to correspond to the hieroglyphic *nht* 'plea, prayer', especially in the well-known divine epithet *sdm nhtwt* ascribed to Ptah and other gods from the New Kingdom onwards (*Wb.* ii. 289). The reading *try-t* is conjectured: the scribe seems at one stage to have written *dd-t*, or even *gy* (?).

n. *nb* may also be possible here, though syntactically awkward, and the entire line is questionable in the extreme.

o. Cf. Text 2, R° 7 and V° 6 above.

p. Presumably infinitive. The following *t: mdt *ta*

may have been connected to this in speech by a genitival particle *n*; if so *dd n rswt* is to be regarded as a complete phrase in itself.

q. See above, p. 16 for note on Text 2, R° 10.

r. Difficult: *hnt*, 'stink' though excellent as a piece of propaganda, is not otherwise convincing; the suggestion of Smith, that we are dealing with a descendant of ⲡⲓⲛⲓ 'rage', is perhaps confirmed by the survival of Bohairic *Seni* = μάχεσθαι (Crum, 603b).

s. A better reading than *hrw*. The lack of article (not paralleled in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, §§ 46-8) could perhaps be explained by treating **hrw n tm* as an entire phrase, rather like *hrw nfr* and the like, but this is not convincing.

t. Concluded with the mere ending of a cartouche, see above, Text 2, V° 8 and note ff, p. 17.

u. The group *///* is to be taken either as a writing of the old verb *st* 'perceive' (*Wb.* iv. 30), which is not yet attested in demotic, or as an abbreviated spelling of *p(t)ry* 'behold' (cf. the group */// 2* in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 136). Either fits the sense, but the latter is preferred here.

v. An astonishing piece of hyphen-work!

w. The same group occurs in a damaged context in Fragment 39, 2. The reading therefore seems clear enough, but the interpretation is difficult, and the choice must be made between

- (i) *γαιετ* 'forecourt' (*(hryt[y]*, *Wb.* ii. 476)
- (ii) *γογμετ* 'sail' (*(htrw*, *Wb.* iii. 182)
- (iii) the reading *ns hrw (p:) dmt* 'the environs of the city'.

Possibility (iii) is difficult to maintain palaeographically, while (ii) is phonetically difficult and is hard to reconcile with the preposition *hn*. We are left with (i). Much the same problem, but with a different solution, is confronted by A. Volten in his *Ägypter und Amazonen* (Vienna, 1962), 77. It is possible that the title *nty hn t: hyty* is the later counterpart of the older *smw hryt*; it is not easy to find a Greek counterpart for such an official, unless he is to be sought in the ἀρχεδεύτρος, who was in charge of the reception of strangers at the Ptolemaic Court; but no equivalent for *smys* is to be found in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*.

x. *irkmkrts* is also possible, but less likely.

y. The preceding *t-tr* requires a verb here, and the *p:* before *sh* therefore becomes redundant.

z. This phrase conversely requires the insertion of *t:*.

aa. Inserted, and very faint; *t:* is entirely conjectural.

bb. The scribe seems to have begun the name *Hrynys*, which he altered. The result resembles the name *Hrmys*, but this is presumably accidental.

cc. Identified by the writing in Graffito Philae 416, l. 18 (Griffith, *Graffiti of Dodekaschoenus*, i. 114-15); cf. the title *Hrmys Kysrs* = 'Ρωμαῖος Κάισαρ(ος) in the Ptolemaic chapel at Kalabsha (De Meulenaere and Dewachter, *Chapelle ptolemaïque de Kalabcha*, i, 2, and Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 49 (1911), 86-7).

dd. With resumptive -s as in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 263. The reading *hn-s* (cf. Text 21, R° 10) is also possible (ibid. § 262), but fits the determinative less convincingly.

Translation: recto

1. Pharaoh Ptolemy, our lord, the master of Egypt, and
2. Queen (Cleopatra), the gods who love their mother, who wear the diadem^a in Alexandria: favourable to you^b
3. is the year. Your favourable year is every year which comes, (and) favourable to you
4. is this among them. It is favourable for your fate, and favourable for your fortune,^c
5. (and) it is favourable for men, who rejoice when they look upon you. It has been opened by Isis,^d
6. the lady of the diadem which is (upon) your head. No other god but she shall
7. exercise authority (over) your supreme inheritance.^e (For) she is (the one) who keeps watch over the territory
8. (of) Egypt. You shall not fear the multitude,^f (for) 'Thoth is with you,^g reading to you a document of giving to you
9. the might (and) the readiness of your army, (and) the salvation of your supreme inheritance.^h
10. Your fortune which comes with every day is lasting, lasting, (?)
11. from Isis. She is not far from you (at) any hour, for you love her: it happens (that) you are
12. the son of her son.^a She has caused all good

fortune to befall you. She has caused you to be born

13. (on) (Thoth, day 12,) the great festival of Thoth, her father.^j For her heart is continually favourable upon it^k with every year,
14. because of the benefits which have befallen you (?) upon the day named (they are written) whose confirmation
15. is established (in writing) upon the gateway ((of) the upper chapel) of the temple of the House-of-Thoth^l before
16. every man on earth, (namely) that which you have given to Thoth [the wise, (the) moon, the living one (?), (the) Ibis].^m (For)
17. yours are the men (who) receive instruction from you. Isis constantly makes for you all reverence and esteem (?)
18. saying, 'You are among the gods: you are not among
19. men.' (You) are great in your heartⁿ: happy are your counsels: you revere that which concerns
20. [[that which concerns]] the gods.ⁿ You have a beneficent heart
21. towards men. You have caused to endure the remainder (of) your endowment^o
22. [.....] You are abandoned (in) your heart to Isis (in every matter). You are of the like
23. (of) Isis to every stranger. You shall not call to
24. (any) god except Isis, (for) she is wise alone,
25. the one alone^p is she, whom multitudes
26. revere (as) one (?).^q She has made your diadem,^r together with (that of)
27. all your companions.

Translation: verso

1. Isis has brought the diadem(s) to your son^a in the temple of Memphis^b together with
2. his children after him for very many lengthy days.^c It is to the arms of Isis

3. that you shall go,^d for she causes the salvation of your lifetime, and she places your
4. enemies beneath your feet,^e and she gives to you of her own accord (?) those who encroach (?) (upon)
5. the frontiers, (those) whom you desire to pay you tribute^f in the matter of [.....]
6. the business of Isis, the Queen of all entirety, who wears the diadem (in)
7. the entire land.
I have caused to be written my (?) plea in connection with them again.^g
8. Account of the matters (which) I reported to *Hrynys*
9. because of the *said matters' being told to me (in) a dream,^h at the time (when) Egypt
10. divorced itself (from) Alexandria. *3tyks* fought to
11. the north of *Pr-3wrys*.ⁱ *Gry*, his agent,
12. had not yet left Memphis in Year 13, Paoni, day 1.^j *Hrynys* did not
13. believe the *said matters until the withdrawal
14. from Pelusium^k (which) *3tyks* made in Year 13, Paoni, final day.^l
15. (But) on Year 13, Epeiph, final day, *Hrynys* perceived these things.
16. *3mnys*^m who is in the forecourtⁿ and *3rk-*
17. *hrts*^o who is over Memphis^p wrote the account of the journeyings^q in every detail.
18. They wrote the letter which is pertinent.^r They gave^s (the) letter named to Pharaoh ((and the) Queen),
19. (and) Ptolemy with him^t (in) the Great Serapeum which is in
20. Alexandria, (in) Year 13, Epeiph, final day. Pharaoh journeyed
21. (to) Memphis immediately. *Nwmnys* journeyed
22. (to) Rome.^u *Tynys*^v journeyed
23. (to) Pelusium. The scribes arose,
24. (but) no man recorded matters
25. (at) the time named.^w

Notes: recto

a. Or 'exercise authority'; a similar metaphor occurs with *shn-k* in l. 26.

b. Masculine singular.

c. The *3ry* and the *3p3y*, literally the personified destiny and the uraeus-goddess of the Pharaoh, are widely used as personifications of the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων of the King. For a possible bronze counterpart as two male and female serpents, cf. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), no. 997 and note. *Pr 3ry* as a deity is dealt with by Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus*, i. 12 (with *3p3y*), and for *3p3y* (ⲙⲁⲛⲙⲓ) as an epithet of Isis, cf. *Wb.* iv. 450. See further Appendix 1 below.

d. The use of this formula suggests an anniversary (see textual note *i* above), which would be either new year, the anniversary of the accession (cf. *Canopus*, l. 5), or Pharaoh's birthday, when his γενέθλια would be celebrated (cf. *Tanis Stela*, 7-8; 27). The reference in l. 13 below leaves us in little doubt that the latter is referred to here, the more so as in the Canopus Stela *wpt-rnpt* is used, via the connection with *mswt-Rr*, to refer to this event.

e. See above, note to Text *ad locum*.

f. Possibly in a military significance (note to Text 2, Vo 12, above) or simply in an imaginary one ('even a multitude').

g. One is immediately reminded of a temple scene in which the god stands before Pharaoh, declaring *dl-n-t n-k nhtw hr hst nbt* or the like; a scene such as this may well have figured on the walls of Philometor's shrine at Saqqâra, where it would certainly have been familiar to the writer.

h. The notion is much more that Philometor is to be regarded as son and heir of Horus, than, presumably, that Epiphanes is to be hailed as this god; the reign of Philometor's predecessor can hardly have been a happy memory for those engaged in the ibis-cult, cf. Text 19, Ro 13-15.

i. For the possibility of 'day 15', see above, note *w* to the text. The date of Philometor's birthday was unknown before, but if we are right in assuming that he was aged three or four on his father's death (Otto, *Geschichte des 6. Ptolemäers*, 1-23; reviewed by Skeat and Bell, *JEA* 21 (1935), 263, n. 1, where Epiphanes' death is calculated by means of Ostrakon Tait Bodleian 96 of 20 May 180), then his date of birth was probably 19 October 184 (or, less likely, 183). I know of little evidence to support Griffith's belief (*Rylands*, iii. 141) that he was born in 186, but if this is correct, the Julian

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date would fall one day later. This notion is presumably derived from a desire to increase Philometor's age on marriage, but as this seems to have been brought forward by the party planning the invasion of Coele-Syria, respectable age would probably have been sacrificed to efficiency. See below, note to Text 19, R^o 15, and Koenen, *Archiv Pap.* 17, i (1960), 13 n. 2.

j. The juxtaposition of two cult centres, one of Isis, one of Thoth, at North Saqqâra may have led to this belief, in which Thoth plays the role usually assigned to Geb. It may, however, have been prompted by a related idea, for the Aretalogy of Cyme, which is expressly said to be taken from a Memphite source, has in line 3b, καὶ ἐπαίδεύθη ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ (Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 301). The notion of Hermes (Thoth) as tutor of Isis may well have developed into the statement that he was her father,¹ a notion which persists into the Hermetic Corpus. It is therefore extremely interesting that Plutarch, writing almost three centuries after our present text, should have recognized this tradition, cf. *De Iside et Osiride*, 3, 352A (where it is said to be commonly, but not exclusively held), 12, 355F; see the note in the edition of J. Gwyn Griffiths (Cardiff, 1970), 263-4.

k. More likely than towards him (i.e. Thoth), although the syntax has become a little tortuous.

l. Philometor's benefits to the temples of Egypt, and particularly of Saqqâra, are a common theme of our texts (cf. Text 2 above, and Texts 7, 19 below). This is a welcome confirmation of the character portrait given in Polybius XXXIX, 7, and both Hor's emphasis on the piety of Philometor, and the constant suppression of his brother, should be read in this light.² It is possible that *hr r* may mean simply 'at the entrance' of the shrine; the reference would then be to a donation stela, erected before the temple.

m. Extremely doubtful, see note to the Text *ad loc.*

n. cf. Text 2, R^o 14: *p r cw n t r nty hr n r ntrw n hty-k*. The alternative reading *hrt*, though attractive, is palaeographically unlikely.

o. Possibly a reference to the donations, which we know to have been inscribed at the entrance to the ibis-shrine. But the context is not certain.

¹ One is reminded of the role of Nectanebus in the Alexander Romances, although here the idea of fatherhood is presumed to come before the tutorship; see Cary, *The Mediaeval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956), and Merkelbach, 'Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans', *Zetemata*, ix (Munich, 1954), where the possibility of an Egyptian popular tradition is seriously entertained. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, i. 4 and n. 10, supports a similar possibility, at least with

p. A common epithet of Isis, surviving in the Greek θιοῦν (Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 225, 281 ff.). See Appendix 1 below.

q. Syntax very difficult, and translation offered with hesitancy.

Notes: verso

a. The difficulty here is whether Hor is giving rein to his imagination, or whether he is describing a real event; in the latter case, it would seem that the reference is to an inauguration ceremony, possibly the ἀνακλητήρια, of Philometor's son and heir. This possibility must be taken seriously. The eldest known son of Philometor and Cleopatra, Ptolemy surnamed Eupator, who is probably the son listed in Greek Graffito Philae, no. 12 (A. Bernand, *Inscriptions Grecques de Philae*, i. 121-6, and extensive bibliography quoted there), is a shadowy figure, who predeceased his father (hence the confusion over the placing of his name in the dynastic lists, sometimes before, sometimes after Philometor). Pap. Rylands 16, of 28 March 152, gives the earliest known date at which the two appear together as sovereigns, but Eupator appears earlier, in 158/7 as an eponymous priest at Alexandria (Griffith, *Rylands*, iii. 141; IJsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus*, 49, no. 129; 108, no. 128). Now it would seem plausible that this honour was the initial step in the 'grooming' of Eupator for eventual kingship (cf. Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* 40 (1954), 52-3), and that the appointment would have been accompanied by a proclamation of some kind. This would perhaps have happened in 158, although the age of Eupator at the time is open to considerable doubt: Pap. Louvre 2329 (Wilcken, *UPZ*, no. 110) is dated to 21 September 164, and reports that the King, the Queen, Ptolemy 'the Brother', and the τέκνα are alive and flourishing. Whether the word τέκνα includes, or even implies, a son, is a question which reasserts itself in Greek Graffito Philae 35 (A. Bernand, *op. cit.* 252, and the observation quoted in connection with no. 48, p. 294); the conclusion seems to be that it is not implied. If so, the τέκνα are daughters, including Cleopatra Thea, and no son has yet been born.³ A possible date

regard to the tradition of the foundation of Alexandria.

² Such vindication of an ancient tradition may perhaps add strength to Bevan's remarks on the character of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, cf. *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, 323-4.

³ This would add an interesting touch to the last words of Text 1, 'the confirmation of this is when the Queen bears a male child', but perhaps this sort of impatience is out of place in an oracle.

for Eupator's birth will be proposed below, in Text 5, but whatever the truth of this (the epigram Palatine Anthology, vii. 241 is hardly conclusive), the date of 158 B.C. for our ostrakon would be very appropriate. It is known that in October 158 Ptolemy Philometor visited the Memphite Serapeum, continuing his journey as far as Philae (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. 23); it is therefore very tempting to think that our present encomium was written for the king's birthday on 13 October 158.¹ This, however, should not be pressed too closely, for the writer is clearly paraphrasing the contents of the dream in Text 1, even to the use of the same phrase beginning *sw ky* ..., and he may therefore be indulging in wishful thinking; but it will be wishful thinking indulged in after December 159, when the final interpretation of the dream was reported to the great men, and this adds some weight to our chronology.

b. The traditional site of the crowning of Pharaoh, cf. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 95 ff. The example of conforming to this Egyptian rite had already been set by Epiphaneas, in 197/6 (Bevan, 260); a similar tradition concerning Alexander the Great is perhaps to be discounted (Skeat, *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 27, n. 1).

c. Text 1, R^o 16-17; general considerations of context suggest that it is the present text which borrows the phrase.

d. Possibly on death, but perhaps merely as a metaphor of Isis as protecting deity, as often in her winged form on sarcophagus or shrine.

e. Again a motif common in Egyptian art, from the footstools of the New Kingdom onwards, cf. Rühlmann in *Wiss. Z. Martin-Luther Univ.* 20, 2 (1971), 61-84.

f. It is again difficult to see whether a specific event, such as the invasion of Coele-Syria, or the long dispute over the dowry of Cleopatra I, is intended here; probably not, as the memory of such happenings would hardly be suitable for recall, and the writer is determined to win the good will of the King.

g. Clearly the beginning of an entirely new section, which will narrate the historical circumstances of the writer's career, and the nature of his grievances, as in the opening sections of Pap. Rylands IX.

h. For the rather involved syntax see note p to the Text above.

i. See above, Text 1, 7. This place-name is quite un-

¹ It must be admitted that a long and querulous complaint, for such the final document was almost certainly intended to be, is not a very suitable birthday-present, particularly if, like Apollonios, Hor chose to throw his petition through the window of the palace at the Anubicon. But such are the

known, but clearly divides into the familiar *Pr-*, and a foreign name *ḫwrys*. Skeat and Smith have made the very interesting suggestion that this latter element should be identified with Εὐλαϊος, the eunuch and tutor of the young Philometor.² This is plausible, as we know that Eulaeus and his accomplice Lenaeus succeeded in having coins struck in their own names, and from this dramatic act the naming of a city would be a small step. The main objection to this idea is that it is extremely unlikely that such a place-name (*Εὐλαϊον πόλις?) would have survived the fiasco at Pelusium and the disgrace of Eulaeus; one would be driven to assume that Hor was relying on his memories of 168, and had since fallen out of touch. In this case he will have committed a *faux pas* of the first magnitude, an idea which does not commend itself.

No less easy to determine is the location of this place: Mount Kasion, near the scene of the Egyptian defeat in November, 170, is a candidate, but it is generally more likely that *Pr-ḫwrys* lay near Alexandria, perhaps to the east of the city, for we know from Polybius that in June 168 Antiochus was encamped near Eleusis. This area is described to us by Strabo (XVII, 16 ff.). No *Pr-ḫwrys* is mentioned, and this is not surprising, but in addition to Eleusis two smaller towns, Taposiris and Nicopolis, are described on a bar between the canal which led to the promontory of Zephyrium. Had Antiochus been to the north (*pr-mh*) of any of these, whether encamped or engaged in hostilities (*hnn*?), he would have been on the coast where he met the Roman envoys. The possibility that *Pr-ḫwrys* was in some way an Egyptian name of Eleusis should equally be borne in mind.

j. Not 'day 11', as in the parallel account in Text 2, which is likely to be the correct reading on the basis of *lectio difficilior*.

k. For the Egyptian name of Pelusium (περειασην), see Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 57 (1922), 69; also Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 255-6, and Gauthier-Sottas, *Décret trilingue*, 26-7. Its importance as a frontier-station is well shown by its appearance, under its older name Si'nu, in the account of Assurbanipal's invasion (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, ii, § 876; see too P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 196, n. 115). The most detailed discussion is still to be found in hazards of power.

² *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 14602. Contrary to general supposition, the man seems to have been a Macedonian, not an Oriental, cf. L. Robert in *Gnomon*, 35 (1963), 71-6 and P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 211, n. 212.

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Fontaine, 'Enquête sur Péluse', in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Études de l'Isthme de Suez*, 4 (1912), 17-80.

l. The date (30 July 168) is very close to Bevan's estimated June or July of the same year.

m. Apparently = Ἀμμώνιος; Preisigke, 26.

n. = ἀρχιδέατρος? See note to the text above.

o. Ἀρχιλαίδας (Preisigke, 59) is possible, but not certain.

p. Presumably (unless the expression refers merely to his place of residence) as *strategos*; not given in *Prosopographica Ptolemaica*.

q. Probably more of a reference to the movements named below than to the retreat of Antiochus.

r. An idiomatic use of *ph* (cf. πετηνη, Crum, 282a) illustrated in *Rosettana*, 20, where *ni mdt ph (n) ni r-pyw* corresponds to τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τιμώτατα.

s. Probably passive, since the implication of Text 2 is that Hor himself gave the letter to the Pharaohs.

t. see note bb to the Text, above. The reference, without a cartouche or any other mark of distinction, is probably to 'the Brother'.

u. Polybius XXX, 16. This is the earliest reference to Rome known from an Egyptian text, and provides a confirmation of the dating of the events.

v. Possibly Δεινίας (Preisigke, 84), or conceivably Διονύσιος, a name which is known to have caused demotic scribes some trouble. A Dionysius τῶν φιλῶν is known from *Prosopographica Ptolemaica* (242 and 244) as *strategos* at Memphis in 163-161/0, but this may be coincidence.

w. A remarkably obscure statement. The writer may have in mind that no record of his own part in these events was made during this time, and he is therefore obliged to rely upon his memory.

Preliminary Remarks

This text divides into two parts: the first, covering the recto and the first lines of the verso, is perhaps to be interpreted as an encomium to Ptolemy VI, written for his birthday on 13 October 158, after the installation of the Crown Prince as priest of Alexander. The second part, the remaining lines of the verso, is the beginning of a plea or petition, showing the part played by the author in the events of Antiochus' invasion ten years earlier. This account is a rewriting of the similar lines in Text 2, dating retrospectively

to Philometor alone (thus introducing the fictitious 'Year 13'), and suppressing all reference to the other Ptolemy. The author is unnamed, but from internal evidence is very likely to be Hor, and the general similarity to the very abbreviated writings of the Rosetta Stone suggests that the hand is a Delta one, probably that of the narrator himself.

TEXT 4

Height	19.1 cm.
Width	15.4 cm.
Thickness	0.75 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate V (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate VA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-37 [466]

A pinkish ostrakon, taken from the side of a round vessel, inscribed on the exterior (recto) with twenty lines of demotic, excessively faded, especially in the central parts, and containing many erasures. All except the last seven lines bear diagonal ticks at their beginnings, perhaps made when the text was being copied on to papyrus. The verso bears faint traces only, written horizontally across the sherd, and 'ruled off' with a broad diagonal stroke. The fading exhibited by this ostrakon has caused much difficulty.

Text: recto

1. *wn t; šrt i-tr-s^a Hrynys (i)wn-n; sstrks*
2. *htr n Pr-c; lrm t; Pr-c; it tw-f prty^b r-l
r-db; n; mdt*
3. *(i)tr-l cn-sm; n-f n-lm-w^c n hit-sp 13 ibd-3
šmw []^d [p; tr(?)]*
4. *(i)wn-n; [Kmy pnk n-lm-f n] Rr-kd^e: tw-s^f
n; mšw mdt nbt*
5. *swn []^g t; nty t; y^h p; šr c; (n)
Pr-c; dd tw-w (r) ms-fⁱ*

6. *lw-f(r) dlt wih g¹ tš n try-f dnt hry.* tš nty*
try' p₁ wd₁ (n) Rc-kd
7. *dd lw-f^m smn hr p₁y-f [] shn*
[] nb. tš nty try
8. *n₁ mšrw 3tyks [rws]^a dd t-tr-f šm r-bl*
9. *Kmy^o [] tš nty try^o n₁ skrw*
Pr-c₁ dd lw-f(r) šm
10. *(r) tš mry (n) p₁ ym lw-f rrc^a (n) Rc-kd*
hity-f nfr.
11. *tš nty try p₁ ibd (n) gmr(?)^r dd bn-lw p₁*
šr []^r n-drt cn^t
12. *[] wih-shn []*
tš nty try
13. *tš dnt hry []^u*
14. *p₁ tr mdt []^v*
n-lm-f. wih-s
15. *chc-i lrm 3rstn nty hn^w*
16. *tš nty try [] dd []^x*
17. *[]*
18. *[]^y hity-k []*
19. *lw-f šp drt-i []*
20. *[]*

No connected sense is available from the traces on the verso.

Notes

- a. The use of a resumptive pronoun seems strange here, and one wonders whether *t-tr n-i* is not intended, but the writing seems clear, even to the small stroke (*r*) of *t-tr*.
- b. An unknown word: *hrt* would be a possible reading, were it not for the fact that the word recurs clearly written in Text 17, R^o 6-7 *nsw t-dt-f rry n₁ t-tr gmr r-f, nsw t-tr-f prty n₁ t-tr hrc tš mlt*, 'those whom he made great are the ones who caused groaning against him, those whom he made *prty* are the ones who abandoned the path'. The parallelism makes clear the rough meaning of the word, which may share the root *pri*, 'forthcoming', cf. Latin *eximius*.
- c. Parallel in Text 3, V^o 8.
- d. The day is lost, but both Text 2 and Text 3 suggest that it may have been *rlky*. The following traces indicate another date, Year 10 (+x), perhaps joined to

the preceding by *šr*, to give the final limit of the events prophesied; the following phrase suggests that the whole period is to be contained within the joint reign, 'when Egypt and Alexandria were divorced', a period which lasted until May/June 163 B.C.

- e. Restored from Text 3, V^o 10.
- f. See note to Text 1, 11, p. 10.
- g. If the reading *swn* is accepted, one might expect something similar to Text 2, R^o 13-14; *swn t-tr-hr-k*. But *smrc* is equally possible as a reading.
- h. See note *u* to Text 2, R^o 13 above, p. 17.
- i. The omission of the feminine *t* from the infinitive of 3ae inf. verbs is typical of the Later Bohairic dialect (ⲁⲁⲁⲥⲓ, ⲁⲁⲥⲥⲓ for ⲁⲁⲁⲥⲧⲓ). Doubt is permissible whether the tense here is Third Future or Circumstantial 'when he is born'; the former seems more suitable to an oracle.
- j. For this writing of *ky* cf. Text 3, R^o 6.
- k. See notes to Text 3, R^o 7.
- l. The vertical line on the copy is part of the palimpsest (*hn-w?*).
- m. Because of the loss of the following words doubt exists whether Alexandria is referred to here, or Pharaoh; perhaps the former. *p₁y-f* here may well be *try-f* or *nry-f* (?)
- n. There is sufficient space for this restoration.
- o. The traces are not easy to reconcile with this proposal; it may be that a palimpsest also exists at this point.
- p. The scribe seems first to have written *ph* (?); the resultant attempt to alter this to *try* has produced this group, which at first sight resembles *dlt*.
- q. A writing of *rl* (ⲁⲗⲉ) 'ascend, climb', hence 'embark' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 67). The form may be influenced by similar spellings of *rlw* 'child' (ⲁⲗⲟⲩ), *ibid.* 68.
- r. This entire phrase, especially the signs read *gmr*, is subject to the utmost caution.
- s. *šr* seems to have been inserted above the line, but the subsequent traces are very obscure. *wy* suggests itself as a possible reading, but without conviction.
- t. As *cn* usually falls at the end of its clause, it would seem that *n-drt* was followed by a short suffix, perhaps *-f* or *-s*.
- u. Only a determinative */* can be seen in the middle of this faded line.
- v. *wih-s* (?) seems to have been followed by a word beginning with *y*, perhaps *ys* or the like.
- w. May be followed by *-f*.

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x. The traces here suit *hrt*, 'food', but the sense is obscure.

y. *hityf* may have stood here, but it is impossible to grasp the meaning of these final sentences.

Translation: recto

1. Account of the letter which was written by *Hrynys*, who was *strategos*
2. (of) horse^a of Pharaoh and the Queen, when he was in command (?) over me,^b because of the matters
3. (which) I reported to him in Year 13, Epeiph [..... up to Year at the time]
4. when [Egypt divorced itself from] Alexandria: behold (?) the journeyings (in) every detail
5. [.....]. That which concerns the eldest son (of) Pharaoh means (that) he shall be born
6. (and) cause to endure another province of his supreme inheritance.^d That which concerns the salvation of Alexandria
7. means (that) it^c is secure upon its [.....] authority(?) [.....] every [.....]. That which concerns
8. the journeyings (of) *3tyks* means (that) it is from Egypt (?)
9. that he went [.....]. That which concerns the voyages (of) Pharaoh means (that) he shall go
10. (to) the isle (of) the sea, embarking at Alexandria, his heart being happy.^f
11. That which concerns the month (?) of groaning (?) means (that) the son shall not [.....] from him (?) again.^e
12. [.....] authority [.....]. That which concerns
13. the supreme inheritance [.....]
14. the time (when) [.....] spoke (?) [.....] and she (?) [.....] him.
15. I stood with^h *3rstn*ⁱ who was in it (?).

16. That which concerns [.....] means [.....].

17. [.....]

18. [.....] your^j heart [.....]

19. He guaranteed me^k [.....]

20. [.....]

Translation: verso (traces only)

Notes

a. Reading plausible, but not quite certain, as the determinative is hard to trace; if accepted, it helps us to define further the role of *Hrynys* in the events of 168.

b. The implications of this expression, if its meaning has been guessed rightly, are of importance: we have seen from Texts 1-3 that *Hor* played an important part in the events described, but without knowing much of his function. It would appear now that he was either a soldier in the royal forces, or a member of the entourage of *Hrynys*, perhaps a soothsayer. See historical commentary below.

c. The period runs from July 168 (possibly day 30, cf. Texts 2 and 3), until an unknown point in the joint reign. This ended in May 163 or thereabouts, which under the retrospective dating used here (and perhaps in official sources at the time) would fall in Year 18 of Philometor; as the traces clearly show Year 10 (+x) at this point, it is clear that the whole of the joint reign may be covered in the following narrative.

d. This 'other province', referred to in a rather cryptic manner, may well be the island of Cyprus. Already Griffith (*Rylands*, iii. 141-2) had noticed the large number of dedications from this place addressed to Ptolemy Eupator (Dittenberger, *OGIS*, nos. 121, 122, 123, 125, 126), and concluded that 'it seems probable that Cyprus was marked off in a special degree as Eupator's sphere of rule'. If this interpretation is correct, the events referred to here lie a long way beyond the joint reign, and we must assume that the retrospective account is a very belated one. The need to 'secure' Cyprus would be very appropriate after Ptolemy the Brother's attempt to seize the island in 154 (Bevan, 300-1), but such an explanation would lead us far into the reign.

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e. Or possibly 'he', referring to Pharaoh.

f. It is difficult not to see in 'the isle of the sea' a description of Cyprus, always closely linked with the Ptolemaic kingdom. Late in October 164 Philometor sailed to Rome, in order to induce the Senate to support his claim to the throne against the scheming of his brother. On his return he lingered in Cyprus while the same brother exercised sole and unhappy authority at Alexandria. In May of 163 he finally returned, his claims vindicated, and the joint reign came to an end (Bevan, 291). 'His heart being happy' may therefore be a reference to the successful outcome of his travels, although it could hardly have been a just description of his mood when he left Alexandria, and forms a shabby contrast with the painter's garret of Diodorus. But this would have been of little concern to Hor, whose aim is clearly to win the goodwill of Pharaoh Ptolemy, by whatever means available.

g. The text as it stands suggests that misfortune, perhaps even death, has befallen the young prince. If so, the date of this passage must lie after 150. Griffith's conjecture that Eupator was in some way deprived of his position in Egypt and sent away to Cyprus (op. cit. 142) is unproven, but it may equally be an event of this sort which Hor has in mind; the writing, however, is too faded even to substantiate the readings chosen here, and no historical weight should be attached to this passage.

h. In Text 1, 8, Hor 'stands with' *Hrynys*, and in Text 22, R^o 3, with the *hr-tb*; neither context suggests that the phrase means anything more than 'associated with' or even 'conversed with'.

i. Doubtless the Greek Ἀρίστων (Preisigke, 49); whether this is the Ariston of Text 26, R^o 1, who is described as a citizen of Daphnae, is an open question.

j. Probably addressed to Philometor.

k. Perhaps in a less literal meaning than Text 1, 13. Whether Ariston is still active at this point it is not possible to say.

Preliminary Remarks

This difficult text seems to paraphrase a letter sent by *Hrynys*, possibly to the Pharaohs, at some point in the joint reign. Some of its points—the eldest son of Pharaoh, the safety of Alexandria, and the retreat of Antiochus—we have already met with; others are new to us, especially the voyage of Philometor to 'the isle of the sea'. These historical references are used

to confirm and interpret cryptic utterances, possibly obtained from dreams or other experiences of Hor, who is now recalling these mantic episodes. If our interpretation of the references to Eupator is correct, and there is much evidence to the contrary, the text as we have it will have been written much later, perhaps even after 150; but whatever the truth, it is certain that our document was composed after May 163. It was perhaps intended to be sent to Philometor together with the other ostraca, and it is for this reason that the early lines have been scored off when the text was committed to papyrus.

TEXT 5

Height	8.3 cm.
Width	21.7 cm.
Thickness	1.1 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 6/6
Photograph	Plate VI
Facsimile	Plate VIA
Excavator's no.	G7-27 [456]

Ostrakon, in three pieces, taken from the curved neck of a reddish-ware jar. The material of the sherd is porous and badly pitted, and the writing consequently extremely obscure. It is also clear that this text lay exposed for some time to the action of wind-driven sand.

Text 5A, numbered by Emery G7-28 [457], is in two pieces (*height* 7.3; *width* 13.6; *thickness* 1.0 cm.), and clearly forms part of the same text, although it does not make a join with it. Text 5B (*height* 12.4; *width* 10.9; *thickness* 1.0 cm., numbered G7-29 [458]) is a further fragment of the same text, bearing only a trace. The verso of all these ostraca is ribbed, and uninscribed. A faint buff wash seems to have been applied to the entire vessel.

Text 5

1. (vacat) *ir-t cn-smj n hst-sp 5t^a*
ibd-2 sht clky^b

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2. *hpr p; hc-rd (n) p; cš-shn* []^c
3. *Mn-nfr. wn t; šrt (t-)dt-i [n ht-ntr] 'Iwnw^d.*
bn-pw [] *mdt n-lm-w cn.^a bn-pw-w*
šn-l
4. [] *s (t-)wn-n; sstrks htr* []^f
t; nty t; y n; mdt-nfrw [Hrynys]^g []
mdt-nfrt
5. [] *t; y Dhwtj (vacat) h[]^h tw-s*
p; wd; n t; dnt hry
6. *ht* [] (trace) *tw-t* []

Text 5A

- x+1. [] *cš* []
2. [] *t; iwt* [] []
3. [] *tw-s hbs p; y-s dmi nty hry* []
4. [] *Hp-nb-s t; y rnpt 25ⁱ* []
5. [] *... dd p; tr wn-n; w smn ...* []

Text 5B

(Trace only).

Notes

a. The trace supports this reading, rather than *rt*. Indeed, there is considerable doubt whether Year 1, Paoni of the joint reign ever existed (Skeat, *JEA* 47 (1961), 108). That the date is within the joint reign, rather than a year of Philometor alone, is suggested by the references to *Hrynys* below.

b. Very faint: the initial sign of the season suggests *ht*, but the day date is not certain.

c. These final traces do not suit *Pr-r*, or even *ht-ntr*, which is applied to *Mn-nfr* in the following line.

d. This writing differs slightly from that of Text 1, 2, and the other examples. *ht-ntr* is a conjecture; perhaps **dt-i sh-w* or the like also stood here.

e. See the similar phrase in Text 2, 11. The lacuna after *bn-pw* is too long for a suffix, except perhaps *-l*. Possibly a name stood here.

f. *Hrynys* may perhaps have stood at the beginning. For his title, cf. Text 4, R^o 1-2. *Pr-r* perhaps belonged in the lacuna following.

g. Restored, but with little confidence.

h. Doubtful, as the sign is broken by a cavity in the sherd. *m-s* or (less likely) *Wn-nfr* may also be considered.

i. *rnpt* is not certain, and 21 may also have been intended.

Translation

Text 5

1. I reported in Year 5, Paophi, final day.^a
2. There happened the confirmation of the fortune [.....]^b
3. Memphis. Account of the letter which I gave [.....]^c Heliopolis [.....] did not speak of them further. They did not question me.
4. *Hrynys*^d who was *strategos* of horse [of Pharaoh?]. That which concerns the blessings of [*Hrynys*?] [.....]
5. from^e Thoth. [.....]. Behold the salvation of the supreme inheritance,
6. namely [.....]. I [.....].

Text 5A

- x+1. [] call []
2. [] the office []
3. [] she being in festival(?) (in) her town which is above^f
4. [] *Hepnēbes*^g for 25 years^h []
5. [] said (at) the time when there was established []

Notes

a. If correct, this date would correspond to 2 December 166. Alternative dates are much less convincing; see textual note above.

b. It is an open question what these words may mean. The same applies to 'the salvation of the supreme inheritance' in l. 5 below. It is a tempting possibility, but no more than this, to believe that *H*or is describing the birth of Ptolemy Eupator at the beginning of December 166. There are, however, other events which occurred between the years 168-163 which may be dated at this point, and to which our text may refer. These questions are dealt with in the historical commentary below.

c. Or possibly 'caused to be written'.

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d. Since only the very end of this name survives, and since the mention later in the line is far from certain, it is possible that we are dealing with another *strategos* of horse who has replaced Eirenaios since August 168. But Text 4 suggests strongly that Eirenaios survived for some time after the withdrawal of Antiochus, and our reconstruction may be correct in the end.

e. Or perhaps '[which] concerns Thoth'.

f. This line suggests that we had somewhere in the lost portion a reference to *dmt-n-3st*. What form the *hbs* took (if this is the correct reading) it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was similar to the one mentioned in Text 9, which was written at about this time.

g. See Demotic Text B, 4, and topographical commentary below.

h. 21 is a possible reading; if Hor is referring to himself we may restore something like **tw-t šms hn n: wrbt Hp-nb's try rnpt* 25, which would take his arrival in Memphis back to about 190. But we cannot be sure of this, and this part of the text may well be retrospective.

Preliminary Remarks

This frustratingly obscure text seems to have described a letter written by Hor at Heliopolis in early December 166, perhaps to Pharaoh, concerning certain benefits which have befallen the kingdom in general and the *strategos* of horse in particular, who is perhaps the *Eirenaios of the earlier texts. Everything else is lost.

TEXT 6

Height	11.3 cm.
Width	8.4 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	10 R5/4 ¹
Photograph	Plate VII (V ^o only)
Facsimile	Plate VIIA (R ^o and V ^o)
Excavator's no.	H6-509 [4132]

A fragment of a red-ware ostrakon; the surviving text suggests that a considerable portion may be missing. The 'recto', or convex surface, has been badly faded by sand, and mere traces remain of its inscription. The concave verso

bears the final portions of eleven lines. The sherd was discovered in 1970 together with Texts 10 and 21 in clean sand above a mud-brick courtyard to the north of the ibis-shrine, where it had perhaps been discarded by looters.

Text: recto

No connected sense can be reconstructed.

Text: verso

x+1.	] <i>trm</i>
2.	] <i>n-šm's</i>
3.	] <i>p: y-t</i>
4.	<i>šdm</i>] <i>hrw-t hr</i>
5.	] <i>r snt wn-n: w</i>
6.	] <i>t: h: t ht p: hp (n) Kmy</i>
7.	<i>grpyt</i> ^a <i>nty (r) d: d: k Pr-r:</i>
8.	] ^b <i>t: y-k dnt hr</i>
9.	<i>3st t:</i>] <i>Pr-r: t n tm [nb</i>
10.	] <i>mtr</i>
11.	] (traces).

Notes

a. Restored tentatively from Text 3, R^o 6.

b. The determinative *2/* is clearly visible. *wd:* is therefore unlikely, and *hrh* 'watch over' may be a possibility.

c. Restored from the parallels in Text 3, V^o 6, and Text 10, R^o 16-17. *tw nb* is also a possible reading; see notes to Text 10.

Translation

x+1.	] with (?)
2.	] her ^a
3.	] my
4.	] (hear) my voice in the matter of
5.	] according to the custom which they
6.	] before, namely, the law (of) Egypt
7.	the lady of the diadem] which is (upon) your head (as) Pharaoh ^b

¹ The ware is dark red on both surfaces, but the central core is a distinctly black layer.

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8. who watches over] your supreme inheritance
9. Isis the] Queen of all entirety.^c
10.]
11.]

Notes

a. 'It' is of course also possible; the translation is chosen because of the references to Isis below.

b. 'Pharaoh' may be the beginning of a new sentence, but this would be more difficult to reconcile with the following line.

c. See Appendix 1, and note to Text 10, R^o 16-17, pp. 48, 156.

Preliminary Remarks

This poor fragment contains part of an address to Pharaoh, and introduces epithets of the goddess Isis. The part surviving therefore resembles Text 3, of which it may even represent a recession of some kind. The references to the law, and to former habits (ll. 5-6) recall the petitions to be described later. The phrase 'hear my voice' (l. 4) adds some weight to this comparison. Beyond this nothing is certain.

TEXT 7

Height	16.4 cm.
Width	15.6 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate VII
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-120 [5388]

A light red ostrakon, pieced together from twelve fragments. A considerable proportion of the text is missing, and a thirteenth piece, catalogued by the excavators as 71/2-220 [5488], is almost certainly part of the lost portion. The recto, already badly damaged by salt at the time of discovery, bears remains of twenty-one lines. The verso, black and mottled, is uninscribed.

The text was excavated by Martin at the beginning of February 1972.

Text

1. *Pr-r* [*Ptr*] *wmys lrm* [*t*] *Pr-r* *Krwptr*
2. *n* *ntrw* *ry*.^a *sm*^b
3. *Hr p* *rmt Dml-(n)-3st t* *ntrt* *rit nbt tph*
nty lw (n) p *tš (n) Tb-ntr*^d
4. *p* *hp wpyt t* *hrt n* *hbw (n) Kmy t* *ry*
5. *i-tr p* *ry-k dry p* *sbt* *(n) p* *ry-k mš* *p* *w* *(n)*
t *dnt* *hry*^e
6. *smn p* *htm* *nty lw Tmpn* *Tbny*^h *hms hr*
7. *st-f* *šktryn*ⁱ *i-tr Tbny*^h *smn*
8.] *hr wd* *p* [*hr*]^j *Pr-r* *mtw-w dlt n-f nry*
šbw^k
9. *hr rdwyf*.^l *my ir-w p* [*hp mdt*] *nbt h[p]* *t*
mdt-nfrit^m (*mtw*)ⁿ
10.]^o *Dhwty* (<..... *šht sw* *12*)^p *dd* []
i-tr [*hr-k* ...] *rit*: *dl-w n-i š* *lw-f*
11.]^q *i-tr-hr p* *ry-f* *tt. n* *nt[rw]* *nty hwy n* *chyt n*
12. *K* *my n* *hrdw (n) Dhwty nry*. *st try t* *ry-f hrt*.
st mwt
13. (*n*) *hks mn sp-sn*.^r *st hf n* *chyt. st wrh*^s
14. *n-lm-w grh mtry. n* *rmtw dryw*^t *nty lw*
15. *gm*]^v *lw* *h* []^w *r-w. dl-w tr p* *ntr*
rn-f
16.] *wd* *[]*^x *tw-t tbh*
17.]^y *Tmpn*
18.] *hr nry mtw-f*
19.]^z *hpr n-lm-w*
20.] *ir tym*
21.] *krs*.

Notes

a. This epithet seems also to have been written in Text 3, R^o 2. It is possible that this rather vague title antedates the official inclusion of Cleopatra into the royal protocol, an event which is known to have happened on Philometor's return to Egypt in 163 (Bevan, 292). This would suit the appearance of Hor as a citizen of Temenēsi, a location which he seems to have abandoned after his permanent settlement in Memphis (see Text 9 and biographical commentary below). The text is difficult to date: it may fall into the middle of the

160s, or it may equally reflect the abuses prevalent in the ibis-cult some ten years previously.

b. Probably an abbreviated writing of *smr* (cmlor), cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 431. The stroke following this word is probably a space-filler.

c. See the note to Text 2, R° 2, p. 15 above; the present example is too faint to contribute to the discussion.

d. The writing with inserted element which probably represents the scribal tradition of Memphis, see note to Text 2, R° 3, p. 15 above.

e. Perhaps the scribe intended *tryk*, as in most of the parallels. The whole sentence recalls Text 3, R° 9.

f. The reading seems clear; the word probably corresponds to the earlier *hdmw* (Wb. ii. 505). It is the syntax of ll. 4-8 which presents difficulty. *try* in l. 4 is presumably introductory; *t-tr* may be linked to it, but this leaves *smn* in l. 6 exposed, and it may be better to begin a new sentence with l. 5. The *t-tr* which appears in l. 7 is also difficult to interpret; the translation offered below assumes that two parallel sentences of the form (*t-tr* *smn*) are intended, but other interpretations are no doubt possible. It seems best, however, to let a new clause begin in l. 8 with *hr wdj p; chr*. The name here transliterated *jktryn* is also a problem. One solution may be to take both cases of *t-tr* and *smn* as imperatives, but this reads very harshly indeed. The present writer is, however, far from certain that he has understood this passage.

g. The second writing below, and the writing of *k* in the personal name in the next line, exclude the reading *Kmpn*.

h. Another difficulty: the group is clearly written $\text{J}^{\text{L}} \text{L}^{\text{L}}$, and differs from the very similar word in the following line only in the omission of the supra-linear L . This may or may not be of great significance. Although the last element resembles *rnpt* or *ty*, it would seem more likely that here we have a place-name to supply. It is not *dml-n-ist*, which it resembles (l. 3, above); it may perhaps be an unusual writing of *Dpy* as *Tby*. But more than anything it recalls *Tbnt*, the Delta place-name associated by Erichsen (*Eine neue Erzählung*, 12-13) with Daphnae. This reading I have adopted here. Whether this is a true identification, and what relationship *Tbnt* bears to Tahpanhēs (Jeremiah 43: 7-9), or to a similar place-name *Nr-rm-pi-nhs* (*Onkhsheshonqy*, iv. 6, 9, 18; Erichsen, op. cit. iii. 3), or to the Stratopeda of Herodotus (cf. M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, 56, n. 2), are not perhaps

relevant here, where the very reading is in doubt. The group, clearly written, recurs in Text 26, R° 1.

i. The initial *r* is very strange, but I cannot find a more convincing reading.

j. Restored; the determinative may have been L^{L} .

k. Doubtless a writing of *sbtw*.

l. Restored from the similar image in Text 3, V° 3-4. The tail of the *f* is visible in the following line.

m. Extremely faint and doubtful.

n. Some signs may have followed this insertion, but they are lost.

o. *mdt* is a possible reading for the traces.

p. Perhaps the date of the great festival of Text 3, R° 13, but the *tpy* is not visible, and *ibd-2* may even have been written.

q. A verb, whose determinative L is still visible, would have stood here.

r. Presumably the copula *ne*.

s. A recurrence of the idiom of Text 3, R° 10.

t. *hrh* would fit the traces, but yields very bad sense.

u. For this writing of *nr rmtw*, which is here obscured by a palimpsest, see note to Text 3, R° 5, p. 22 above.

v. Only the final sign visible. For the idiom cf. Text 26, R° 17.

w. $\text{J}^{\text{L}} \text{b}$ or $\text{J}^{\text{L}} \text{h}$ is visible; the whole is perhaps a curse or threat, like the *styt r-f* of Texts 16, V° 3 and 17, 10.

x. A house-determinative is visible.

y. *Pr-r* may perhaps have stood at the end of the missing section.

z. *nrj* is more likely from the traces than *Dhwtj*. *hrs* in the final line is far from certain.

Translation

1. Pharaoh Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra
2. the great gods.^a The greeting of
3. Hor the man of the town of Isis, the great goddess, lady of the cavern,^b which is in the nome of Sebennytos.
4. This^c is the law of the judgement of the food of the ibises of Egypt.
5. Your might, the readiness of your army,^d (and) the salvation of the inheritance,
6. secure the throne upon which^e *Tmpn* (of) *Tbny*^f
7. sat, (and) *jktryn*.^g *Tbny* is secure

8.]. Ever safeguarded is the lifetime of Pharaoh, and his enemies are placed
 9. beneath his feet]. May they observe the law in every [matter], the [law of the blessing(?)] (and may)
 10. Thoth [speaks] (on [Thoth], day 12),^a saying in your presence a great [.....]: 'I have been given a son who
 11.] before his father'. The gods who protect the chapels' of
 12. Egypt are the children of Thoth. They' steal his food. They^k die
 13. of hunger constantly, constantly. They destroy the chapels. They neglect(?)
 14. them night and day. The mighty men' who
 15. [find] fault^m, [calamity] upon them! They have caused the god himself
 16.] salvation [.....]
 I beg
 17.
 .] ... *Tmpn*
 18.
 .] in these matters, and he
 19.
 .] happened to them.
 20.
 .] make protection
 21.
 .] burial(?)

Notes

- a. The text may perhaps be dated to the middle of the 160s, see textual note above.
 b. For this conventional rendering, cf. Text 2.
 c. The syntax until l. 8 is very doubtful.
 d. See the note to the translation of Text 2, V^o 12.
 e. Lit. 'upon whose back'.
 f. *Tmpn* represents a foreign, perhaps Greek, name. Δημοφών (Preisigke, 86) is a possible equivalent, but an identification would be of little significance unless it could be determined what *Tmpn* was doing upon

Pharaoh's throne. Some form of revolt or *coup d'état* seems to be implied, but it is certainly not one recorded in other sources, scanty though they are. Possibilities that *Tmpn* may have been a nickname of Antiochus, or that (I) *htryn* was a Roman, though intensely entertaining, have little substance, and one is led to assume that Hor is describing one of the several revolts against Philometor which occupied the years from 168 to his voyage to Upper Egypt in 158/7. If the conclusion that after 166 Hor ceased to refer to himself as a citizen of Isiospolis were tenable (see notes to Text 9), we would have to place the revolt of *Tmpn* early in these years, in the aftermath of the Seleucid retreat. Whether these events are connected with any of our Greek texts, or with the revolt of Dionysios Petosorapis (for which see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 212, nn. 218, 219) or with the ἀλλη κίνησις of Diodorus XXXI, fragment 17c, remains uncertain; the location of *Tbny* (?), if it is really Daphnae, would shed much light upon the question. To identify the revolt of *Tmpn*, if such it was, with the ἀλλη κίνησις, simply because its author is unknown, would be quite impermissible.¹ The evidence of Text 29, however, in which Hor still calls himself a citizen of Temenēsi even in Year 30, shows that even this dating criterion is unsound, and the entire question must be left unanswered.

g. If correctly read, the first element may correspond to Ἀγαθο-, but both identification and syntax are highly doubtful.

h. Perhaps in an oracle given on his festal day, Philometor's birthday. A great difficulty lies in deciding where the god's speech ends; l. 15, with its reference to *pī ntr nīf*, is presumably part of the narrative. The complaints of ll. 12-15 are perhaps better placed in the mouth of Hor, and the version chosen here does have the advantage of making the sentence beginning *nī ntrw nty hwy* act as a commentary upon the god's words. Other possibilities exist, however.

i. These gods are presumably Philometor and Cleopatra. Texts such as 16 and 17 suggest that the 'chapels' (*rhyl*) are the centres of the ibis-cult dispersed throughout the land; see commentary.

j. Impersonal.

k. Sc. the ibises.

l. See Text 1, 5, translation.

m. Text 26 suggests that *nī* may be restored here.

¹ How literally should we take Hor's statement that *Tmpn* sat upon Philometor's throne? If seriously, then the revolt would have been much more than a provincial disturbance.

It may be that the phrase is metaphorical, used to describe the mere intentions of the rebels; yet this seems a rather forced explanation. The entire incident is something of a mystery.

Hor is pleading for the downfall of his oppressors. See the biographical commentary below.

Fragment 7A

See photograph on Plate VII. The traces show the words *hrs(?)* and *hb* 'send', but it is impossible to determine its place in our text.

Preliminary Remarks

This enigmatic text represents a plea from Hor to Philometor to rectify the neglect of the sacred ibises. Its date is quite uncertain; the mention of the ibises and their privations suggests that the text is a late composition, while other criteria point to an earlier date. The writer alludes to an attempt by a man named *Tmpn*, perhaps a Greek citizen of Daphnae, to seize the throne, and seems to rejoice at its lack of success. Everything else is obscure.

See further Additional Text 60 at the end of this volume (pp. 169-70).

§ 2: Dream-texts and oracles

TEXT 8

Height	20.1 cm.
Width	18.0 cm. (max.)
Thickness	0.7 cm. (ave.)
Munsell	2.5 YR 3/6
Photograph	Plates VIII (R°), IX (V°)
Facsimile	Plates VIIIA (R°), IXA (V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-31 [460]

A red-ware ostrakon, taken from the shoulder of a rimmed conical vessel. The recto bears twenty-five lines of demotic, the verso a further eight; the lower half of the verso is blank. The text of the recto underwent considerable fading immediately upon discovery, and many of its readings are extremely doubtful. The verso, with its pitted surface, has fared no better, and the

inherent obscurity of the subject matter has helped to make this text the most difficult of the entire collection. Indeed, were it not for the preliminary work of Smith, the present writer could have made little of this ostrakon.

Text: recto

1. *sw* 12^a *hb*^b *Dhwtj*. *t* *mh*-*It*: *tw*-*w* *dd*^c *wsh* *w*
ts *hl*^d *irm*-*i* *hr* *bik* *wsh*-*f* *wt*^e *pry* *dnt*^f
2. *tw*-*w* *dd* *wš*-*i* *bl*^g *mš*-*w* *m*-*s*-*i* *dt*-*w* *chr*-*i* (n)
Tb-*ntr*^h *in*-*w*-*y*ⁱ (r) *p* *m*-*r* *wn*-*n* *pry*-*i*
3. *ts* *n*-*lm*-*f*. *hpr*-*f* *tw*-*i* *snt* *m*-*š*^j. *tw*-*w* *dd* *pry*-*i*
ts *gm* *t* *ht*-*ntr*^k *dd*-*f* *n*-*i* *Hr* *ir*-*k*^l
4. *dnt* *tw*-*i* *h*-*r*-*r*^m *mtw*-*k* *gm* *r* *r*-*s*ⁿ. *ir*-*k* (r)
šm *n*-*k* *bn*-*tw*-*k* *chr* *i*-*ir*-*hr*-*t*^o
5. *ink* *pry*-*k* *ts* *Dhwtj*^p *wsh*-*i* *dd*-*s* *n*-*k* (n) *t* *ht*
tm-*lr*^q *šms* *ntr* *hr*-*bl*-*r*. *dd*-*i* *n*-*f*
6. *bn*-*tw*-*i* *ir*-*s* *cn*. *dd*-*f* *n*-*i* *dd*-*i*-*s* *n*-*k* *hr* *hry*
Pr-[]^r. *šm* *rmt* *r* *n*-*drt*
7. *na* *Pr*-*Bnw*^s (r) *dlt* *n*-*f* *p* *dm*-*r* *hr* *p* *shny* (n)
t *ht*-*ntr* *Pr*-*Bnw* *wh*-*k* *irm* *r*-*k*^u
8. *dd* *tw*-*i* *hpr* *irm*-*f* *nry*-*i* *ssw* (n) *cnh* *gm*^v *hpr*-*f*
irm *p* *nty* *tw*-*w* *hb*-*s* (r) *wsh*^w
9. *w* *rmt* *w* *š*-*shn*. *in*-*n*^x *bn*-*tw*-*f* *wsh* *p* *nty*
wh-*f* *irm* *t* *mdt*-*nfrt* *nty* *tw*-*w* *ir*-*s* *n*-*f*
10. *š*-*r* *t* *wnwt* *tw*-*i* *chr* *wb*-*f*^y. *ir*-*k* *gm* *r* *p* *nty*
tw-*w* *hb*-*k* (r) *wsh*^w *t* *mdt* *pry*-*s*
11. *smt* *ir*-*k*^z *pry*-*f* *mtry* *p* *nty* *ir*-*k*^{aa}. *wn* *t* *mdt*-
nfrt *nty* *tw*-*w* *ir*-*s* *n*-*k* (n) *rw*-*y*-*n*
12. *htp* *Mn*-*nfr* *irm* *t* *mdt*-*nfrt* *rn*-*s*. *t* *mh*-*at*:
tw-*w* *dd* *tw*-*i* *hr*^{bb}
13. *t* *hny*^{cc} *Mn*-*nfr*. *mh*^{dd} *mw*^t *hst* *w* *rmt* *sbk*.
dt-*i* *cl*-*f*^{ee}
14. (r) *d* *d*-*i* *in*-*i*-*s* (r) *hry* *Pr*-*Wstr*-*Hp* *ph*-*i* *hft*^{ff}.
15. *mdt* *w* *rmt* *r* *wb*-*i* *dd* *lm* *r*-*hr*-*i* *gm*-*i* *w* *rw*-*y*
16. *tw*-*f* *kd*. *dd*-*i* *n*-*f* *cn*-*f*^{gg} *p* *rw*-*y* *p* *nty* *kd* *r* *rw*-*y*
17. *tw*-*f* *šn* *nry*-*f* *sy*^{hh} *hms*-*f* *hr* *t* *mtr* *hft*ⁱⁱ.
18. *dd*-*f* *n*-*i* *in* *pry*-*k* *ctrm*^{jj} *t* *ry* *hrt* *n* *hb*^{ww} 60,000.^{jj}
19. *dd*-*i* *n*-*f* *tw*-*f* (n) *Pr*-*Dhwtj*^{kk} *irm* *nry*-*i* *cl*^{ll}
20. *dd*-*f* *n*-*i* *in*-*s* *r*-*bw*-*nry* *irm* *nry*-*k* *nkt*
21. *dd*-*f* *n*-*i* *wn* *mtw*-*k* *by* *cnh* (n) *t* *ry* *p* *h*^{ww} 35
22. *ir*-*k* *mw*^t *Mn*-*nfr* *tw*-*w* *hrs*-*k*^{mm} *hr* *t* *kyt*ⁿⁿ
23. *Mn*-*nfr* *tw*-*w* *dlt* *htp*-*k* *n* *rw*-*y*-(n)-*htp* (n)

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24. *Pr-Wstr-Ḥp. sdm n3 mdt*

25. *nty tw-i dd n-k*

Text: verso

1. *m-šm m-bšh Dhwtj i-dd-s^a tm n-i pry-i nb c₁ Dhwtj*
2. *cn p₁ ch ky (n) hb. m-šm m-bšh 3st (i)dd-s dd*
3. *im(t) n-i^b try-i hnwt 3st cn t₁ krst hr*
4. *n₁ shn(w)^c (n) Mn-nfr. m-šm m-bšh Wstr i-dd-s m-bšh*
5. *Wstr dd tm^a n-i pry-i (nb)^e c₁ Wstr cn pry pr (n) n₁ h₁swt^f*
6. *Mn-nfr, cn p₁ wry-(n)-htp (n) Pr-Wstr-Ḥp. n₁y dr-w*
7. *st sh (r)-dd₁ k^g dr-w tw-s h₁ty-k nht^h (n) pry-k*
8. *š-shn mdt nbt nty tw-w hpr n-lm-k dr-w.*

Notes: recto

a. Rather than *sw* 15, cf. notes to Text 3, R^o 13, p. 23 above.

b. The reading seems clear from the passage quoted immediately above. Smith has pointed out to me that the Memphite tradition of writing this word differs considerably from that of other localities, and he is of the opinion that some, if not all, of the writings listed under *gw* in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 574, represent such spellings of *hb*.

c. For this introduction to dream texts, cf. note to Text 1, 11, p. 10 above. The present division into numbered paragraphs also occurs in Pap. Bologna 3171 and 3173, and in other such texts. Unusual, however, is its continued use in the body of a document, as in ll. 2 and 3 below.

d. The present reading, though not without its difficulties (particularly the position of *hl*) seems preferable to one involving *uwl*, 'rob', which is hardly compatible with the remainder of the line.

e. *wb₁* is surely excluded.

f. Used in demotic for a wide range of taxes (cf. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka*, 218), and to translate Gk. τέλος. Here the reference is perhaps to the fee paid for exemption from corvée (χωματικόν), but other interpretations may be possible.

¹ One is reminded irresistibly of the colloquial English 'clear off'. The context, certainly, seems to demand such an idiom. Whether the Egyptian too is a vulgarity is difficult to decide.

g. A most interesting expression; the reading *w(r)š*, if correct here, seems to carry the meaning 'vacate, leave a space' (possibly from the ranks of the labour-gang). *Bl* gives direction to this rather vague idea.¹

h. See the discussion in Text 2, R^o 3, p. 15 above.

i. Presumably to be understood as a writing of the dependent pronoun *-wi* following the semi-vocalic *w* of the *sdm.f*, for our texts regularly avoid the use of *-t* before the object pronouns.

j. For this possible, but not certain, reading cf. Text 1, 17, note 00, p. 11 above.

k. The original is too faint at this point to allow certainty; *hn-w* may perhaps replace *ht-ntr*.

l. The use of the vocative here is abrupt, but not exorbitantly so, while the appearance of this proper name and that of *Pr-Dhwtj* in l. 19 below confirm that the present text is linked with the rest of our documents.

m. Careful examination convinced both Smith and myself that we are dealing with the predecessor of Coptic *καρω* (Crum, 288b).

n. This form of *s* without introductory stroke is paralleled in the *dd-s* of the following line; but both contexts are very faint.

o. Tentatively restored.

p. For some time it was doubtful whether this sentence should be taken as *tnk pry-k ts (n) Dhwtj*, 'I am your officer of Thoth', i.e. employed by the temple of this god, or whether the divine name should be seen as in apposition to *ts*. The latter now seems more convincing.

q. It is typical of these texts that at the very point where the information is clearly at its most important, the writing should be the most faded. Here *tm* is (relatively) clear; the following group bears a certain resemblance to *st₁*, and this may be what the scribe originally wrote. The meaning would then be something like 'Do not draw (the image of any) god except me', and the god would be passing an injunction to remain within the priestly association of Thoth. But it seems clear that the last part of the group has been expanded into a large sign, and a determinative of movement added; hence our *šms*. This is the verb regularly used by Ḥor to describe his service at the shrines of various gods (cf. Texts 9, R^o 2; 13, 12; 23, R^o 4, and 31A, 5, 6, where the group bears an initial sign similar to the present example). For the vetitive

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tm-tr see Williams, *JEA* 38 (1952), 62.¹ The entire text is offered with great reserve.

r. The traces do not allow us to distinguish between *hr* and *hr* before *bl*, if either is the correct reading. For *gaθol* cf. Crum, 36a.

s. The traces suggest a place-name, but the obvious **Pr-tr-s-pr-wr* is not convincing; even *hry* itself is far from certain, and it may be that the whole is a gnomic utterance of some kind beginning with *hw*. If a place-name is still required, it may perhaps be the *Pr-pry-f-try* of Texts 12 and 25, a locality which Hor is known to have visited while on the god's business.

t. Other readings, notably *Pr-Bht* and *Pr-Bt*, the latter possibly as a name of Mendes, are much less probable. The present version rests rather on the testimony of an unpublished papyrus from North Saqqâra,²

where l. 4 makes mention of *p: tš (n) Pr-¹u154*

, where there is said to be a *Pr-mh-wrt*, and l. 1 introduces us to a personage named *Try-Bnw(?) -n-lm-w*. See the geographical discussion below.

u. The sudden introduction of a second person pronoun is startling, and the reading may well be entirely wrong.

v. The syntax of the entire phrase beginning here and continuing to *čš-shn* in the next line, and indeed the whole of the remaining section, is extremely difficult, and the translation offered below is by no means to be regarded as certain.

w. This idiom also below, l. 10, and in Text 12, R^o 1. The preposition *hr* seems excluded by the determinative, for one would expect the writing *ḥp*; see further, note *g* to Text 9, V^o 7, p. 45 below.

x. The scribe seems to have begun a different group, possibly *bn-tw* itself, before altering it to this, which is perhaps the conditional particle. The following words are very doubtful.


y. The palimpsest seems to have been *mtr* by anticipation.

z. This group has run over the determinative of *smt*, as if the writer had *rh* or the like in mind.

aa. *mtw-k* is hardly possible, but the whole sentence is very obscure.

bb. So perhaps, rather than *w/h*; see note *i* to Text 1, 2, p. 9 above.

cc. A word otherwise unknown to me. A rather simi-

lar group appears in Cairo 31167, R^o 4/5 (letter from Djeho to Petiese concerning deliveries of oil). Spiegelberg equated it with the common word *hny* (ϣνε) 'canal', although the determinative is a little difficult to explain. The best hieroglyphic equivalent of our present word seems to be the  (various determinatives) of *Wb.* iii, 288, a word translated as 'Ruheplatz'. Its relationship with the root *hmr(t)* 'restrain' remains to be established.

dd. *Hr* is hardly possible here, but the entire sentence is far from clear. Smith has suggested for *hst* the reading *rst* 'penalty' (cf. the writings from Insinger quoted in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 10).

ee. The traces suggest that *wrr* 'flee' may be possible, but the following *d/d*, and the frequent use of *raθo* in Coptic, may add some weight to the present reading.

ff. A word which commonly lacks the definite article, cf. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 46. One would expect this usage to be especially common among the inhabitants of the Memphite Serapeum.

gg. The absence of *ni-* is strange, but a clear parallel occurs in verso, l. 2.

hh. Probably the Coptic *coi*, cf. the common *mh n sy sb* of house-documents (Jelínková in *Bull. J. Ryl. Lib.* 49, no. 2 (1967), 473). The word is generally masculine, and it would seem that the text here is plural, with unwritten determinative. But in Coptic the word is occasionally feminine (Crum, 317b), and this may possibly be an early example of this. An alternative spelling of the same word seems to appear in Text 33, 10.

ii. Presumably the Coptic (e)ϣια, Crum, 430b.

jj. The alternative reading, *ḥ* is possible, but perhaps awkward.

kk. For the reading, see note *b* to Text 1, 1, p. 8 above.

ll. *rlh* is also possible. The word may correspond to *al* 'fenugreek' (Crum, 4b), or less likely the *apw* 'bean' of Crum, 489a. *rrwy* 'reeds' is the least likely contender for the reading.

mm. For the omission of *-t* from the infinitive cf. *ms-f* of Text 4, R^o 5, and the other examples collected at the end of § 1 of the Commentary.

nn. The reading seems plausible, although the adjective *ky* appears in a very different form on the verso, cf. perhaps Text 18, V^o 15, *kyt (?)* 'Iy-m-htp.

¹ A less direct interpretation would be to regard *tr* as infinitive, (*r*) *tm lrt*; *fms* would then be used nominally, and depend upon the infinitive.

² Publication is vested in the hands of the Egypt Exploration Society, to whom I am grateful for permission to quote from the document. It bears the excavator's no. S.H5-106 [1704], R^o.

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Notes: verso

- a. This and the following examples are writings of the imperative $\Delta\Xi\iota\epsilon$.
- b. Note the parallels in Text 10, *passim*.
- c. A recent discussion of this phrase, equating *shnw* with the Greek *olkonóuoi*, in Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 41. See also note f below.
- d. The scribe seems first to have written *l-gd-s*, which he may have intended in his final version.
- e. An understandable omission by the writer.
- f. It is possible that this word, whether to be read *hst* or *smyt*, was also intended at the beginning of l. 4.
- g. The *k* is extremely weak, below the determinative. The final lines suggest that the scribe's concentration was beginning to expire.
- h. Far from certain.

Translation: recto

1. Day 12, Festival of Thoth. The first: I dreamt^a (that) a young officer^b was with me at work,^c and had paid my tax.
2. I dreamt that I absented myself, (but that) they came after me and caused me to halt at Sebennytos.^d They brought me to the place where my
3. officer was. It happened (that) I was very afraid. I dreamt that my officer discovered the temple(?).^e He said to me, 'Hor, you are
4. on trial:^f I shall keep silence, and you shall find that its mouth is great (?).^g You shall go: you shall not stand before me (?).
5. I am your officer, Thoth.^h I have told you before, "Do not worship any god except me."ⁱ I said to him,
6. 'I shall not do it again.' He said to me, 'I told you it previously, in *Pr*-[.....].'^j There came a great man from among (?)
7. the men of Pi-boine^k to give him the roll bearing the destiny of the temple of Pi-boine.^l 'Your will (be) with your word (?),^m
8. saying, "I shall remain with him (through-out) my days of life: should calamity occur with that which is ordained,"
9. one man one fate"(?)ⁿ If he will not pledge^o

- that which he wishes together with the benefit which will be performed for him
10. immediately, I shall stand against him.^a (But) you shall find (that) that which is ordainedⁿ for you is great, and the benefit
11. likewise. You are his witness, which you shall perform. (For) the benefit which shall be performed for you is in the house of
12. rest (of) Memphis, together with the benefit named.^r The second: I dreamt (that) I was upon
13. the necropolis(?) of Memphis. A foul death had seized a poor man.^s I lifted him
14. upon myself (and) brought him up (to) the Serapeum. I reached the dromos.^t
15. A great man^u called out to me,^v saying 'Come to me: I have found a house^w
16. which is built'. I said to him, 'It is beautiful, the house which is built, more than a house which
17. lacks its roof-beams'. He sat down in the middle of the dromos.
18. He said to me, 'Bring your clover, this food (for) the 60,000 ibises'.^x
19. I said to him, 'It is (in) Pi(?) -Thoth together with my fenugreek (?)'
20. He said to me 'Bring it here together with your property.'^y
21. He said to me 'You (shall) have a living soul from the thirty-fifth day:^z
22. you shall die (in) Memphis, (and) you shall be buried upon the high-ground^{aa}
23. (of) Memphis. You shall be laid to rest in the house of rest
24. (of) the Serapeum.^{bb} Hear the words
25. which I shall say to you.

Translation: verso

1. Go before Thoth (and) say, "Come to me my great lord Thoth:
2. beautiful is the lifetime long (in) festival". Go before Isis (and) say, saying,

*Benefit
of Isis
16*

3. "Come to me my lady Isis: beautiful is the burial within
4. the precincts of Memphis." Go before Osiris (and) say before
5. Osiris, saying, "Come to me my great (lord) Osiris: beautiful is this house" (upon) the deserts
6. (of) Memphis, beautiful is the house of rest (of) the Serapeum." All these things
7. are written over you, all of them. Behold, your heart is mighty in your
8. fate, (in) every matter which shall befall you in its entirety.'

Notes: recto

a. For this conventional translation, adopted here largely because of its occurrence in the body of the text, see note to Text 1, 11, p. 10 above.

b. The word is the descendant of hieroglyphic 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 , used of military commanders from the Middle Kingdom, and predecessor of the Coptic $\alpha\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; but here it is used to denote the foreman of a labour-gang. The fact that this foreman is divine is probably coincidental to the use of the word, which seems to have had a wide range of meanings, like the modern Arabic *refs*, and it is probably unwise to see this example as a precursor to the Coptic usage.

c. On a *corvée*; the tax is his exemption money.

d. It is not clear why he should be pursued if his tax had been paid, but in a dream it is not necessary to explain events in this way; the mention of Sebennytos too is probably irrelevant to the place where the dream was experienced. This was probably Memphis, where a festival of Thoth was held on day twelve of the first month.

e. Perhaps to extract an oath, cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*, no. 217.

f. Crum, 775a-b.

g. Possibly, 'that this charge is serious'. But other translations are possible.

h. See note to the text above.

i. The implications of these words, if rightly read, are great. The notion of Egyptian cults' demanding exclusive service from their followers is contrary to the view that Egyptian religion was essentially vague and tolerant (e.g. among many, Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*,

Ch. VII), yet the idea of competition between cults over the interpretation of an oracle is implicit in Texts 16 and 17 below. The god, however, is not demanding that Hor deny the existence of other gods, as indeed he does not (witness the verso of the present text), but only that he consecrate himself to his service (*Im*). It is clear that the dream marks a change in Hor's life, for he has previously been a *pastophoros* of the goddess Isis. In Appendix 3 below, it will be discussed whether Hor falls into the category of persons known as $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\iota$, people under a 'restraint' to serve a god. At present, one may observe that if the interpretation of these people given by Wilcken is correct, and if it is true that they adopted their status in response to a dream or oracle of some kind, then it is precisely the type of dream described here which would have prompted their behaviour.

j. Possibly the *Pr-pry-f-try* of Texts 12 and 25.

k. A toponym which, like many in Ancient Egypt, may have been applied to more than one place. A Pi-Boine is known from the Seventh (Diospolite) nome of Upper Egypt (Gardiner, *Onomastica*, ii. 32*; this may be the 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 of the Naos of El-'Arish, cf. Naville, *Onias*, pl. XXV, 36, where it is said to be between *Nšyt* (*Onomastica*, ii. 41* ff.) and *Hwt-dšrt* (ibid. 58*). There may also have been a Lower Egyptian *Pr-Bnw*: a block of Nectanebo II from the temple of Onuris at Sebennytos (Naville, *Onias*, pl. VIA, 3) mentions a house of Horus 'in the midst of [...] *Bnw*'. *Pr-* may have stood in the missing part. In this case Pi-Boine would not have been far from Sebennytos, and this suits our dream well. A falcon-headed god of *Pr-B(i)nw*, whether Upper or Lower Egyptian, appears before Rameses III at Medinet Habu (Hölscher, *Medinet Habu*, vii, pl. 553).

l. Presumably a book of fate kept in the temple; whether such a thing existed at Pi-Boine is not perhaps the sort of question to address to a dream-text.

m. If this reading is correct, which it probably is not, since the change to direct speech is rather abrupt, the words may mean 'Say this with sincerity', but this is far from certain.

n. See textual note above; also Text 12, R^o 1.

o. The syntax of this entire sentence is puzzling, and Smith has suggested a version which is widely different. The phrase, if correct, may be a gnomic utterance expressing resignation in the face of destiny.

p. Crum, 506b supports this meaning in financial contexts, but other translations may be possible.

q. Perhaps in a legal sense?

r. The meaning of all these words is elusive. All are perhaps best placed in the mouth of the officer, Thoth, and are to be addressed to Hor. Hor is therefore instructed, after the book of fate is consulted, to stay with the great man of Pi-Boine for life, come what may. The great man is to agree to this solemnly, and Hor is adduced as witness; the great man will be rewarded for his co-operation, but will face the wrath of the god should he refuse. By this arrangement, Hor will receive two benefits, that of burial at Memphis, and 'the benefit named', which is probably the protection of the great man. Why this should be necessary is not clear. It may be that as a runaway he has lost his rights in law and must join the man's household as a servant, or even slave; but this may be to read too much into the words of a dream.

s. This is probably the significance of *sbk*, rather than 'young'. Hor is presumably intending to bury a man who could not have afforded his own tomb. If Smith's reading of *rst* is adopted the sentence would read 'Death (as) a penalty had seized a poor man'.

t. Cf. the discussion by Reich in *Mizraim*, 1 (1933), 36-7, and the remarks of Guilmot, *CdE* 37 (1962), 359 ff.

u. In this eerie setting we should consider the possibility that this *rmt r* is a ghost; this idea was already familiar to Spiegelberg (*ZAS* 50 (1912), 32), where an ostrakon with a dream-text from Strasbourg features a conversation between Pharaoh and a cantankerous *rmt r* in the vault of the Apis. The equation is amplified by Volten¹ in his 'Studien zu den Moralischen Lehren des Papyrus Louvre 2414', in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini* (Pisa, 1955), 276, note to l. 6 and in *Archiv Orientalni*, 19 (1951). An interesting intermediate use of the word appears in a demotic graffito from the tomb of Paḥeri at El-Kāb (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1539), which prays that the good name of the writer may remain *m-bḥ p rmt r* 'before the great man (of the past)'. It would therefore seem that in essence a *rmt r* is a tomb-owner, and by an extension, a ghost (*b*).

v. *ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲉ*, Crum 192a.

w. Perhaps a tomb, but since both meanings are present in the word, it may be that both are present in the dream; the roof-beams are otherwise difficult to explain.

x. Or possibly, 'this sixth part of the food of the

ibises'. Whether the figure of 60,000 is to be taken as a serious description of the ibis-population of the Serapeum is discussed in § 4 of the Commentary below.

y. The mention of Hor's property suggests that he is being instructed to move his residence to Memphis, as the latter part of the dream suggests.

z. The point in the ceremony of embalmment when, the physical processes of extracting the internal organs and of desiccation being complete, the bandaging was begun and the body became capable of receiving its new life, cf. among others, Sauneron, *Le Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo, 1952), and Pap. dem. Berlin 3115 (Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 54 (1918), 111-14); also A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo, 1952), 198-220.

aa. In spite of the common use of *kyt* (*uore*) to describe agricultural land requiring perennial irrigation (*γῆ ἄβροχος*), the reference here is probably to the desert plateau of the Memphite necropolis. In Text 18, the 'high-land of Imḥōtep' is probably to be identified with the peak (*dhnt*) on which his temple was situated; however, the reading of this phrase is not certain, see note *ad locum*.

bb. Although this expression is the common description of the galleries of the mummified Apis or other sacred animals, the present context probably refers to the human necropolis in which the attendants of the animal-cults themselves were buried; see § 5 of the Commentary.

Notes: verso

a. The *shnw* are, of course, the human administrators of the Memphite area; this reference to the local bureaucracy is awkward to reproduce in translation.

b. Probably in a funerary sense.

c. i.e. 'as part of your fate'.

Preliminary Remarks

This text records two dreams experienced by Hor on the festival of Thoth in an unnamed year. Internal considerations suggest that this may have happened at Memphis, although the setting of the first dream lies in and around Sebennytyos. In this first dream, the foreman of a labour-gang befriends the dreamer, disclosing

¹ Some doubt may perhaps be entertained whether the example discussed by Volten benefits from his interpretation, apt though his discovery may be to other texts.

that he is to spend the rest of his life in the company of a 'great man' from the town of Pi-boine. This foreman reveals himself to be none other than the god Thoth, to whose service Hor is ordered to devote himself. In the second dream Hor is in Memphis, helping a poor man to burial; he is confronted by another 'great man', perhaps a ghost, who addresses a series of questions to him, finally instructing him to go before various gods. The purport of both dreams is the same, namely that burial is guaranteed for the dreamer in the necropolis of the Memphite Serapeum.

(It is to be regretted that in a preliminary publication of this kind it is not possible to investigate in detail the psychology of such dreams; suffice it to say that there is a clear contrast between the first, where the subject is shown befriended by, and dependent upon, superior beings, and the second, where he is seen himself offering help to an inferior. It is perhaps not fanciful to see in the second an example of the well-known 'anxiety dream', in which a figure of authority elicits from the dreamer a confession of failure or inadequacy: the reply to the instruction to bring the clover is that Hor has left it behind in his home city (R^o 19). Marked, too, is the dreamer's reliance upon authority, secular or divine, and this characteristic, which is of course not confined to this individual, will appear in many of the texts in this volume.)

TEXT 9

Height	10.9 cm.
Width	14.4 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/6
Photograph	Plate X (R ^o , V ^o)
Facsimile	Plate XA (R ^o , V ^o)
Excavator's no.	71/2-130 [5398]

A buff ostrakon, badly faded. The recto, which

is almost entirely lost, bears traces of twelve lines, while the verso bears another ten in the same hand, of which the first two are lost, and the third extremely faint; this strange effect may have occurred through the sherd being buried vertically in the sand, and upside down, so that the first lines were exposed to a deeper and damper layer. The beauty of the hand, and the flourish of the final word, denotes that of a professional scribe.

Text: recto

1. *hst-sp 15^a n: wrbt^b []^c ms 3st*
2. *tw-i kms ((n) rd) i-tr-hr [p:] r-pr^d Pr-Dhtoty*
tw-w dd
3. *Hr-p:-hrd p: ntr c: [] dd mdt*
nbt nty tw-w ty^e
4. *i-tr-hr-k []^f n: wrbt t:*
[]
5. *tw-i ch: i-tr [] st tr wr^g spd (n) gll*
m-s: igt^h
6. *ht i-tr hpr m:ct hr []ⁱ f Pr-c:*
7. *mdt irm-i dd tr-k nw []*
8. *[]^j i-tr mdt hpr bn-tw-k tr-s []*
9. *[]^k ms hr rnpt []*
10. *dt-i wh^k t: pt dd-i*
11. *[]^l 3st p:ry-i nb*
12. *Wsr.*

Text: verso

1. (traces)^m
2. *hty-n nfr []*
3. *[]ⁿ tw-i tr wr spd (n) gll []^o*
4. *hr t: hwyt m-b:h 3st hr rnpt nbt*
5. *(n) n: ssw nty tw-i tr-w (n) Mn-nfr. dd-s n-i*
6. *tr-k smn Mn-nfr s:ct dt. dd-i-s*
7. *in wn rmt dt. dd-s p:ry-s wh^q dd tr-k smn*
8. *hn n: nfrw^r nry-k ssw (n) cnh. tr-k mwt hn*
9. *n: nfrw^r tw-w hrs-k tw-w dit htp-k (n) p: cwy-*
(n)-htp (n) Pr-Hp^s
10. *p: ryt^t s:ct dt.*

Notes

- a. The scribe apparently first wrote *hw-w dd*.
- b. Reading based on the early writings listed for the related verb in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 82.
- c. I cannot interpret the surviving traces; *hb* 'festival' is little more than a guess.
- d. Only the very end of *r-pr* is preserved; *pr* is completely restored.
- e. The final stroke is clearly a space filler, as at the end of l. 6 of the verso.
- f. *hr rnpt* is perhaps possible after *t-tr-hr-k*; the rest is lost.
- g. Largely restored from the almost equally faint verso, l. 3; *st* is debatable.
- h. Perhaps a writing of *wt* 'throttle' (Crum, 540b), although the Bohairic forms of this verb are irregular.
- i. *wdt* may suit the traces here.
- j. The faint signs here may read *btw*, but there are other possibilities.
- k. Note that in this text *wih*, strangely, carries the flesh determinative *3*, while *hr*, to which it rightly belongs, is determined with two strokes. See note i to Text 1, 2, p. 9 above.
- l. *hwt* is very possible before *3st*.
- m. These traces may perhaps suit *hrs*, but they are very faint. I can see no sign that a line preceded the present one, although there is clearly room for the same.
- n. I cannot offer a reading for this group, clear though it is. The last elements resemble *shmt* 'woman', but this seems out of place.
- o. Very faint traces follow *gll*, which I cannot interpret; *nty hw-f* is perhaps least exceptionable.
- p. The stroke above *3r* is part of a palimpsest *dd*.
- q. The old *whr*, fused by demotic scribes into *wih*. This identification may have been aided by the use of *wih* itself in oracular contexts. A Ramesside example is quoted by Černý (*BIFAO* 35 (1936), 42) from Pap. BM. 10417, verso, where an absent person is 'placed' (i.e. reference to her is made) before Amenophis I in order to gain information from the oracle; a similar reference occurs in Pap. Turin 1975, 3-4, *wih-t nt mdt m-b)h p) ntr r), wdr-f sn m wdr nfr* (Černý, *LRL* 37, 6-7). The use of *wih* in the sense 'interpret' (*whr*) is found in the unpublished Pap. BM 10237 *hw-f wih wt rswt*. The same survives in *peqoregpaoy* 'dream-interpreter' (Crum, 302b). See also Griffith, *ZAS* 38, 87.
- r. *nt dyw* 'the walls', is a less likely reading.
- s. Apparently so; it may, however, be an ellipsis for *Pr-Wsr-Hp*.

- t. Possibly a writing of *eat* 'furthestmost part' (Crum, 61a), rather than some spelling involving *tst* 'mound' or its derivatives; but this identification is far from sure.

Translation: recto

1. Year 15^a: the sanctuaries [.....] birth of Isis,^b
2. while I was serving (as agent) before the (?) chapel of Pi (?) - Thoth. I dreamt:^c
3. 'Harpocrates the great god [.....] speaks every matter which shall come
4. before you [every year (?)] the sanctuaries of [.....]
5. I was standing [before (?)]. They were sacrificing a bird as a burnt offering after throttling (?) [it],
6. for truth^d had happened upon [.....]. Pharaoh
7. spoke with me, saying, "You see [.....]
8. [is secure(?)]. A matter happens: you shall not do it [.....].
9. [..... evil (?)] is born with every year [.....]
10. I have established heaven".^e I said,
11. [..... lady] Isis and my lord
12. Osiris'.

Translation: verso

1. [.....]
2. our heart happy^f [.....]
3. [.....] I shall offer a bird as a burnt offering [.....]^g
4. upon the altar before Isis every year
5. (during) the days which I shall spend (in) Memphis'. She said to me,
6. 'You are established (in) Memphis for ever'. (But) I replied,
7. 'Does a man exist for ever?' She told her meaning,^h saying, 'You are established
8. in happiness (for) your days of life. You shall die in

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9. happiness. They shall bury you (and) they shall cause you to rest in the house of rest of the House of Apis
10. (to) the furthest limit (?), for eternity'.

Notes

a. The year would be 167/6, within the joint reign. The text as we have it is therefore retrospective, cf. Texts 3 and 4.

b. Perhaps the reference is to a *mammisi* attached to the temple of Pi(?) - Thoth. If a 'festival of Isis' is intended, this is more likely to be a calendar feast in the temple than a description of one of the five epagomenal days (Diodorus I, 13:4, and Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12, 355F agree that the birth of the goddess took place on the fourth epagomenal day, cf. Schott, *Festdaten*, 112).

c. For this translation, cf. Text 8, R° 1, p. 42 above.

d. *mnt*, order or regularity, presumably in the ritual of the temple. The establishment of due orderliness (*mnt*) is a recurrent theme in our texts, notably those below which deal with the cult of the ibises.

e. This sounds very like a sentence from one of the Isis-aretalogies (see below, Appendix 1), corresponding to Greek *ἑὺ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔκτισα or the like; it may be that since Isis appears as the interlocutor of the verso, these sentences too should be put into her mouth.

f. Cf. Text 4, R° 10, *hityf nfr*.

g. The traces are too small for 'throttling' again; [which is] may be admissible.

h. Or, 'interpretation'; see note to the text, and the final paragraphs of the Commentary, § 3.

Preliminary Remarks

This sadly faded text tells us something of the early life of Hor. In the year 167/6 he is serving in the sanctuary of his native Pi(?) - Thoth, when a long dream, perhaps involving Harpocrates and dreamt in the *mammisi* of Isis, but in which the goddess clearly has the paramount role, prophesies that he shall go to Memphis and remain there for ever, both in life and in death. The text, which was written after the end of the joint reign (May 163) has clear affinities both with Text 8 and with the following.

TEXT 10

Height	17.1 cm.
Width	16.2 cm. (max.)
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 6/6
Photograph	Plate XI (R°, V°)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	H6-510 [4133]

A pinkish ostrakon, in an excellent state of preservation, the recto bearing nineteen lines in a Memphite hand. The verso is blank save for two words in the upper right corner, which may represent scribal practice. The text was discovered by Emery in 1970 in the same location as Text 6, but there can be little doubt of its relationship with the main archive.

Text: recto

1. *t3 mh-It.*
2. *imt n-i T3n3 nbt knhy3 t3 nbt*
3. *rrcy t3 nbt t3wy 3st wry mwt-ntr t3 ntrt 3st*
4. *p3 kn3c p3 3l nbt drt Hr [l-dl n-fa Wstr]*
5. (n) *Sywt. sh Hr h3t-sp3 12 3bd-4 prt sw 17.*
6. *imt n-i t3y-i T3n3 3st n-drt-i lrm p3y-t3*
7. *wy3 3st wry mwt-ntr t3 ntrt 3st (n) p3 t3 dr-f*
8. *imt n-i 3st [[nbt]]^a t3 ntrt 3st nbt mrt3*
t3 3p3y
9. *p3 33y. kt. sh Hr (n) Pr-Dhwty.*
10. *imt n-i 3st T3n3 nbt pt hnc t3 nbt bcy. kt.*
11. *tpyt nfrt3 t3y. sh Hr (n) Pr-W3dyt.^k*
12. *imt n-i 3st t3y-t hst twt n3 rmtw t3y-t 3fyt*
13. *twt n3 ntrew3 dd hr dl-t t3 hrt^m (n) rmt n3y-f*
ssw (n) cnh
14. *tw-f mwt ntt t3 nty krsⁿ dd n-i 3st st3 r-k*
hc-k t3 mdt-nfrt 2t:
15. *t3y-k hrt smn wb3-k n3y-k ssw (n) cnh tr-k mwt*
tw-i (r) dl3
16. *krs-w-k. imt n-i t3y-i T3n3 3st t3 Pr-3st n tm*
nb3
17. *nty w3h-shn n p3 t3 dr-f. sh Hr (n) Pr-Dhwty.*
18. *imt n-i t3y-i T3n3 3st t3 nbt (n) p3 nw3h nty snh*
19. *mtw-s dl3 wtn cn. sh (n) dm3 nty hry.*

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Text: verso

n-drt hpr-f has been written in the upper right-hand corner, probably in the same hand as the recto. This may be the start of a narrative, 'Inasmuch as', or it may be scribal practice of some kind.

Notes

a. *Tm* is an alternative, even perhaps *Hm*, and the meaning of this epithet remains unclear. It may possibly be a formation from the common Memphite cult-place *Tmnt* (*Wb.* v. 382, cf. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 247-50); for this and other titles of the goddess in these ostraca, see Appendix 1. The small stroke above the *T* of the present example is probably accidental.

b. *p* *tnhy* would be palaeographically possible, but one might expect a more suitable determinative, and *nbt knhy* seems very appropriate for an ostrakon found within a hundred metres of the burial-place of the Mothers of the Apis.¹

c. The initial feeling was to adopt the reading *tm*, and to connect this with *Tm*; but *km* seems a truer version. Could this be the Coptic *son*, 'ravine, wady' (*Crum*, 819b)?

d. Obscured by palimpsest.

e. The scribe seems to have begun *Pr-Dhwt* (?), which he altered to *hst-sp*.

f. Here, and in the examples of *tyt* in l. 12, the final *t* is written almost as a vertical stroke.

g. This may be a writing of *wty* 'beget', or it may be that *hy* was intended by the scribe.

h. This large blot seems to represent *nbt mrt* altered into *wry mwt-ntr*; the *nbt mrt* then follows *ntrt rst*.

i. The scribe seems to have written [1]4, although the first group looks more like *dd*.

j. This feminine counterpart of *tp* occurs in *Demotic Chronicle*, 6, 14 as a designation of the source of the Nile. *Tp-nfr* (*Wb.* v. 286) is familiar even from the Eleventh Dynasty in the royal epithet *Nht nb tp-nfr*; also, from the following dynasty, *Harwerrêr*, l. 14 *r tp nfr*, at the start of an expedition into Sinai. In Ptolemaic texts the meaning has developed, and in the Rosetta Stone τὸ δικάτον is used to translate the phrase, cf. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 191 ff.

k. Reading suggested by Smith.

¹ The text was of course found in a sand deposit over a brick courtyard (see § 4 of the Commentary below), but this may be mere coincidence.

l. I can make no sense of the line underneath this word.

m. The parallel with *hst* suggests that *hrt* is the reading here, not a noun from the root *hrh*.

n. The *-t* here seems to be redundant, and the scribe probably had the noun (*naice*) in mind rather than the verb (*naue*).

o. More plausible than an attempt to read *hmk* 'offer', although the writing is rather cramped.

p. See note to Text 3, V° 6 (p. 24) and Appendix 1. *tw nb* is also possible, cf. *JEA* 55 (1969), pl. IX, 2 (*tr nb ntry*) in an epithet of Osiris-Apis.

Translation: recto

1. The first:^a
2. Come to me *Tm*, lady of the vault, the lady (of the)
3. uraeus, the lady of the two lands, Isis the great one, divine mother, the great goddess
4. (of) the wady of the lake,^b lady of the hand of Horus which [Osiris gave to him]
5. (in) Siut.^c Written by Hor (in) Year 12, Pharmuthi, day 17.^d
6. Come to me my *Tm*, Isis, into my presence, together with thy
7. progenitor,^e Isis the great one, divine mother, the great goddess (of) the entire land.
8. Come to me Isis [the great one], divine mother, the great goddess, lady of love, the uraeus-goddess,
9. the Fate.^f An alternative.^g Written by Hor (in) Pi(?) - Thoth.
10. Come to me Isis, *Tm*, lady of heaven and earth, lady of the tomb.^h An alternative:
11. this is an auspicious beginning. Written by Hor (in) Buto.
12. Come to me Isis: thy praise is among men, thy gloryⁱ
13. among the gods, for thou forever givest sustenance to a man (for) his days of life,
14. (and) when he dies, thou it is who per-
formest burial. (For) Isis has said to me,

- 'They are for you yourself, the two benefits:
 15. your sustenance is established concerning
 you (for) your days of life, (and) when you
 die, I shall cause
 16. you to be buried'. Come to me my *Tm*,
 Isis, the Queen of all entirety,
 17. who wears the diadem in the entire land.¹
 Written by Hor (in) Pi(?) - Thoth.
 18. Come to me my *Tm*, Isis the lady of the
 bundle which is bound,²
 19. and she gives libations in her turn.³
 Written (in) the above town.

Notes

a. An introduction of this kind is familiar in dream texts, but the subject-matter here is clearly one of incantations, not dreams. The use of the feminine *kt* in ll. 9 and 10 below suggests that a feminine word for 'utterance', perhaps *ht-mdt*, is to be supplied throughout. Unfortunately it is not possible to say whether other such paragraphs were planned to follow the first. An even more mundane use of such numbering will be found in Text 33 below, where it introduces the resolutions of a committee-meeting.

b. An excellent description of the desert valley at North Saqqâra leading from the still traceable 'Pool of Abusîr' due south to the Serapeum, at the side of which the temples both of Thoth and Isis, Mother of the Apis, were found to stand (*JEA* 51 (1965), 8). This, and the mention of the *knht* in l. 2 suggests that Hor has the Memphite area in his mind while composing his addresses to the goddess. For further discussion, see § 5 of the Commentary below.

c. Apparently a reference to an unknown episode in the mythology of Horus, but the reading is open to doubt.

d. Corresponds to 18 May 169.

e. Presumably a reference to Thoth, father of Isis (Text 3, R° 13). In the less likely event of the word 'husband' being intended, the god summoned would of course be Osiris.

¹ An early example appears in A. Roccati's publication of a Turin magical papyrus (*Il papiro ieratico N. 54003*, Turin, 1970) which dates from the early Middle Kingdom. L. 19 of the verso has *ml r-1 r-1 mwt-1 1st snt-1 Nbt-hwt*; the demotic equivalent occurs also on the verso of Text 8 in the present work, and the Greek version in *UPZ* 78, 23 (the date of this document is 159). The phrase is standard in the later Greek

f. See the notes to Text 3, R° 4 (p. 26).

g. Probably a writing of the forerunner of Coptic *an* (Crum, 28a), although no exact parallel is known to me.

h. *Sfyt*, cf. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 182 and 190.

i. Note the parallel in Text 3, V° 6-7 above.

j. An enigmatic phrase which either has a funerary significance, or is used as a metaphor for intractable destiny, see Appendix 1.

k. A very obscure turn of phrase: the sudden change from second to third person suggests that the words are in some way a comment upon the previous lines, but the significance is far from clear.

Preliminary Remarks

In this document we are presented with seven appeals to Isis, beginning with the common address *imt n-l*.¹ Although the general setting and phraseology appears to be Memphite, three of the appeals are said to be composed in Pi(?) - Thoth, and one in Buto, which probably lay near by. One of the appeals is dated to 18 May 169, a time when Antiochus was already in effective control of Egypt and the joint reign abrogated. The text therefore slightly antedates the events of Texts 1-3, and it is even possible that the prayers of our ostrakon were used to invoke the dream described in Text 1. The possible mention of Thoth together with Isis in l. 7 may add some weight to this theory, but certainty is not possible. Isis is represented as pledging sustenance (*hrt*) and burial (*krst*) to her worshipper, in exactly the same way as Thoth in Text 8 offers identical bounties, and Isis herself prophesies a similar fate in Text 9. It would therefore appear that in 169 Hor still regarded himself as a devotee of Isis, but by Year 15 (c. 166) his loyalties had been commanded by Thoth.

magical papyri, cf. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* (1888), *passim*. A similar address to the dead Buchis occurs on the famous pebble (Mond-Myers, *Bucheum*, ii. 56): *lm n-l Wsr-Bh pry-1 nb r*. One should compare also the plea of the Saite princess to Amenhotpe son of Hapu, *my pt swmw nfr* (H. Wild, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 409 ff.).

TEXT 11

A Height	7.9 cm.
Width	9.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XIIA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	71/2-191 [5459]

An ostrakon of brown ware, the recto being slightly darker than the verso. The recto bears portions of seven lines, and internal evidence shows that the sherd preserves almost all of the opening; the verso, which is obscured by a stain from a natron-like substance, bears a further seven lines in the same rather bold hand. General considerations, and the writing of *irm* in R° 5, as *ur* (the Memphite hands normally write two initial strokes), suggest that this hand is the same as that of Text 3, and belongs to Hor of Sebennytos.

B Height	12.9 cm.
Width	7.1 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Photograph	Plate XII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XIIA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	71/2-113 [5381]

This ostrakon, which joins Text 11A directly, was discovered previously in the same season. The verso is even more badly preserved than that of its companion piece, which in other respects it resembles.

Text: recto

1. *tw-w dd: di-i n-fa bik 2*
2. *cs-f-sb wr n-im-w di-f nry (n) ts hst*
3. *dd-f n-i pry bik pry-k bik pry: sh*
4. *nry-k itw in-s i-tr-hr-i (n) rsty [*
5. *tw-i smn try-k hrt irm pry-k [*
6. *tw-w s n-k rtb sw 8e [*
7. *mn sp-sn hr try-k [*
8. *365 280h hr [*
9. *201 tr-k in [*

10. *pry-k msc hpr r pry-n [*
11. *sh mdt nbt tr-k sms [*
12. *pr hb pr bik [*
13. *bn-tw-k [*
14. *nty smy nhh [*

Text: verso

1. *m-bsh 3st irm n ntrw (n) pr ts mhi*
2. *i-tr swhy hr pr tncy* (n)*
3. *pr wn rs (n) Mn-nfr m-bsh 3st irm*
4. *n ntrw n pr ts rs nry [*
5. *[tw-w cw (n) hsty 3st nty swhy nhh*
6. *[n ntrw (n) Kmy dr-w*
7. *[3st dd msc n n nty msc*
8. *[dd-i n-f [] gy*
9. *[wsh-w hb (n) hty*
10. *[r-db hpr irm pr ntr*
11. *[(traces) n bikw*
12. *[(traces) di-i-s*
13. *[(traces)*
14. *[(traces).*

Notes

a. The *n* is very faint, but emerged on close examination.

b. A redundant *-s* of this sort is not usually attested for *cs*, but this seems to be the best explanation here. Similar unusual examples (beside *dwn-s* of Text 3, V° 23 and *hm-f-s* of Text 19, V° 4 and 22, R° 6) occur in Text 23, R° 6, and 25, 6 below.

c. The scribe seems first to have written *dy* 'here'.

d. Note the differing forms of the demonstrative *phai* and the copula *ne* within the same line.

e. The surviving traces are unclear, but it is difficult to suggest a satisfactory alternative.

f. The initial sign of this group resembles *tw* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 44; to be read *tw* in the light of Malinine, *JEA* 54 (1968), 190-1), and this would yield a fair sense, but the remaining signs are difficult to reconcile. The translation offered below is tentative.

g. *w* is perhaps also reconcilable with the traces.

h. The horizontal stroke, which gives the last sign a resemblance to the 'foreigner' determinative, is apparently part of an erased group which stood above the line.

i. Supplied almost entirely from the context.

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j. See the notes on *pr-mh* in Text 1, 1 and 7; the reading here is strongly supported by the contrasting *pr* 11 13 below.

k. The determinative here is interesting: the reading of the final sign as *mh* 'northern' is possible, but rather unconvincing. An alternative may be to take it as a cursory writing of *rs* 'great' (cf. Text 24A, 4 below), but it looks more as if the entire group $\overline{\rho}/\lambda$ is intended for the determinative; see therefore note to the place-name *Pr-Dhwt* in Text 1, 1 above.

l. The vertical stroke at the beginning tends to exclude *dwt*, and *Pr-rs* is scarcely likely.

m. A writing of the Qualitative *os*, as often.

n. Almost entirely obscured by the stain which obliterates the centre of this side of the text.

o. Reduced to a single curving stroke, as generally in the writing of *rs* *rmtw* (see note to Text 3, R° 5, p. 22 above).

p. Note to Text 2, R° 11.

Translation: recto

1. I dreamt: I gave to him^a two documents.
2. He read out one of them, and placed these before (him).^b
3. He said to me, 'This document is your document: write out
4. your corn (-rations) (and) bring it before me (in) the morning.
5. I shall establish your sustenance and your [.....]
6. There are granted (?)^c to you 8 (?) *artabas* of grain [.....]^d
7. lasting, lasting, for your [.....]
8. 365: 280(?) for [.....]
9. 201: you shall bring(?) [.....]
10. your right (?) has happened according to our [.....]
11. write every matter: you shall serve^e [.....]
12. the Ibis (?) (and) the Hawk [.....]
13. you shall not [.....]
14. which pleads for ever (?) [.....]

Translation: verso

1. Before Isis and the gods (of) the north land,
2. who are assembled upon the dam^f
3. (of) the southern dyke^g (in) Memphis: before Isis and
4. the gods of the south land, these (being) worshipped (?)
5. [.....] (and) being great (of) heart: Isis who is assembled for ever (?)
6. [.....] the gods (of) Egypt, all of them.
7. [.....] Isis speaks truth to those (?) who are true
8. [.....] I said to him [.....] way(?)
9. [.....] they have sent in haste^h
10. [.....] concerning dwelling with the god^k
11. [.....] (traces) the documents
12. [.....] (traces) I gave them
13. [.....] (traces)
14. [.....] (traces).

Notes

a. The nature of this other party is not explained, and it may be that we have lost the beginning of our text on another ostrakon; he is evidently a man of authority, however, who issues instructions in a similar manner to the overseer and ghost of Text 8.

b. Cf. the use of $\rho\alpha\epsilon\kappa$ in Coptic = ἀπέραντι (Crum, 641b).

c. 'Burial' is not grammatically possible here; perhaps *chr* 'lifetime' should be restored?

d. Very doubtful; see textual note above.

e. *hr rmt* would fit this lacuna well, but cannot be substantiated.

f. A doubtful reading; the balance of the other two numbers, 85, is, however, excluded.

g. Reminiscent of Text 8, R° 5.

h. Possibly a writing of $\tau\eta\epsilon$ (Crum, 418b), although the inserted *ayin* is puzzling. The feature is probably the same as the *iny rs* of Text 24B, 5, and may be that of Text 15, V° 4. It is discussed in the Commentary, §§ 4, 5.

i. Probably $\sigma\gamma\alpha\kappa$ (Crum, 480a), a word similar in meaning to $\tau\eta\epsilon$. The reason for the gods' assembly on the dyke is not over-evident.

j. Text 2, R° 11.

k. Possibly in the sense of incumbent within the shrine of the god. See Appendix 3 below, p. 163.

Preliminary Remarks

The recto of this fragmentary text records a dream, in all probability recorded by Hor of Sebennytos, in which an unnamed official tells him to present his document and his ration of corn; his sustenance, a common promise in these texts, is confirmed, and a ration of eight (?) *artabas* of grain mentioned as his allotment. On the verso, Hor invokes Isis and the several gods of Egypt, continues his conversation with the mysterious being, and receives conditions for his 'dwelling with the god'.

TEXT 12

Height	16.5 cm.
Width	15.7 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 5/4
Photograph	Plate XIII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-129 [5397]

A sherd of reddish ware, smashed into sixteen fragments by a heavy blow which has desurfaced part of the recto. The eleven lines on this face are written in a Memphite hand, and a further four lines in the same hand follow on the verso. These are written upside down with respect to the recto, in the manner of a papyrus letter. The ware is coarse and has suffered considerably from the action of salt.

Text: recto

1. *n-drt Hr-Dhwtj*: *l-hb-l r wsh* (n) *Pj-hm-ntr-'Imn* *irm p bsk hr-f*
2. (n)-*try hst-sp gt rnpt st r-bw-nsy Dhwtj hb n-lm-l hr* *Pr-pjy-f-try*
3. (n) *nz mdt nty nfr-w* (n) *pj cš-shn* (n) *pj hb pj blk. chc-l irm Pj-šr-(n)-nz-lsw* (n) *Rc-kd*
4. *twf n hr-tb hn nz rmtw. wh-l wb nsy pjy's smt cn hst-sp it ibd-3 iht sw 9*

5. *r-db: nz mdt wn-tw-s ph(r) ty l-wsh Pj-hm-ntr-'Imn n-lm-w hr t: nty try ht-ntr Pr-psdt* (n) *rswt.*
6. *cs nz mdt-nfrw l-tr ly l-tr-hr pj cš-shn* (n) *Pj-hm-ntr-'Imn sdy-l* (n) *hst-w l-tr-hr*
7. *Bn-tw-w-sdm pj wbr nty stp n pj nty wbr.*
8. *wn nz mdt (l)dd-w n-l r dlt-s [l-tr-hr Pj-hm-ntr-] Imn: ht bsk hr-f.*
9. *Dhwtj pj c: pj c: nty c[y* (n) *ms nz ntr]w nty n t: hst t: Sktr*
10. *snt n-f r-db: pjy-f [tr] sh nfr. cn sh r rmt knkn pjy's*
11. *chc-rd: pj wyt dry chc hn-f: hr shn nfr.*

Text: verso

1. *n-drt Hr:*
2. *wn nz mdt nty nfr-w* (n) *pj cš-shn* (n) *Pr-c:*
3. *irm pj dry* (n) *try-f mgtt. snt-l n-lm-w: in*
4. *l-tr-hr-k pj hm-ntr ist^{bb} sgn^{cc} m-šs^{dd}.*

Notes

- a. More likely the common compound name than a name and patronymic; see note to the translation below.
- b. Note the similar idiom in Text 8, R° 8, 10. The reading *wsh* is confirmed by its use as a verb in l. 5 below; this text too exhibits the anomaly that the flesh-determinative, which rightly belongs to *hr*, is attached to *wsh*, while *hr* itself appears only in cursive forms; cf. note k to Text 9, R° 10, p. 45 above.
- c. Probably a proper name rather than a title, but see note o below. The reading *Wstr* for the final group is scarcely plausible.
- d. This sign does not suggest itself as a writing of *pj*, or of *hr*; this use of *hr* is similar to that listed in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 296, n.
- e. *Pjy-f* here is abbreviated; the full spelling occurs in Text 25, 9.
- f. The plural ending of the Qualitative is regularly written out in this phrase.
- g. The last element in this proper name is perhaps the word for 'rams' (*ecwoy*), cf. the name Περσώ, Preisigke, 307.
- h. A group common in our ostraca, where it is normally preceded by the definite article, and used as an epithet to proper names (Text 23, R° 8; Fragment 45, 5). In two cases the group is followed by the

numeral 4 (Text 16, R° 8; Text 17A, 3). This last circumstance, and the horizontal stroke or diagonal tick written over the centre of the word (stroke in the present example, tick in all others) exclude the reading *W_h-lb-Rr*, which would otherwise be very plausible. The reading *hr-lb* is suggested more by the sense than by resemblance to the writings of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 321.

i. The scribe seems first to have written *wn* 'pastophoros', which he erased in a desultory fashion.

j. There is a palimpsest beneath the suffix and the following *wb*, which I cannot determine.


k. The short stroke before *nry* appears to have no semantic purpose.

l. There seems to be bad grammar here, but the explanation is probably that the plural *nry mdt* is regarded as a collective, and demands a singular verb, which retains the feminine gender. The spelling is presumably a writing of the relative imperfect *enec*—.

m. *ty* seems a more likely reading than *rnpt*. For the 'appropriate' use of *ph*, cf. note to Text 3, V° 18 (translation), p. 29 above. The idiom *ph(r) ty*, which I cannot parallel, may mean 'to be about to happen', or 'to be appropriate to come', but either translation is to be treated with reserve.

n. The phrase as in Text 2, R° 13; V° 15, and Text 4, R° passim.

o. The middle sign bears beneath it a curving stroke

thus: , and the reading *psdt* is conjectural. If the lower sign is taken as accidental, or as an insertion from the line below, the reading *Pr-'Imn* would be acceptable, and we should then have to inquire whether *pr hm-ntr 'Imn* were not a title, instead of a proper name; but although this would yield good sense, it is very difficult to justify it from the text.

p. Although *R-st/w* is spelt elsewhere in these ostraca as *rwst*, the position of the determinative at the end of the previous group, and the general sense, weigh against this possibility here.

q. For this writing of *esc* cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 70. The word *tw-s* (cf. Text 1, 11; Text 4, R° 4) seems not to be connected.

r. One might expect *ht* at this point, but the text seems clear, and the translation offered below is tentative.

s. The text is disturbed by a palimpsest *sh*.

t. *stp* is fairly clear, and it is the following group which occasions doubt. *Pr-wrb* may also have been written. *Pr-ty-wrb* is familiar from the First Cataract

as a translation of the Greek ἀβρων (cf. Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus*, 898), and from *Tanis*, 6 *nry wrbw nty* *Im r pr nty wrb* we must assume that some equivalent lay in the Delta. Perhaps the feature was common to many temples. But the entire reading is far from certain.

u. Note the clear palaeographical difference between *ht* and *hr*.

v. Much of the text of these final lines is restored from the parallels in 12A, and detailed references will not be given.

w. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 468; the final sign is perhaps the determinative of the divine, rather than of the plural.

x. The scribe wrote *tr* beneath *f*.

y. This group occurs, also clearly written, in 12A,

3. The natural reading *rsrs* 'wakeful' or the like, is not attested in demotic; the alternative *knkn*, though attested (notably in the phrase *rmt-knkn*) is hardly borne out by the determinative. The following reference to a 'mighty assemblage', and the encouragement given to Pharaoh's army on the verso, perhaps add some support to the latter reading.

z. The reading *wyt* 'stela' (ὀστρακίον) is excluded by the determinative in both passages; *aynt* (Crum, 21b) is suggested tentatively. Some faint traces follow in the present example, which may suit *rh* (*rh*) 'fight', but it is impossible to be certain of this.

aa. Written over a palimpsest, and doubtful.

bb. Here probably a title of Hor, corresponding to *παστοφόρος τῆς ἱεως* of the Greek texts.

cc. Bohairic *cosni*, cf. note to the translation of Text 2, V° 14 above.

dd. See note to Text 1, 17, p. 11 above.

Translation: recto

1. From Harthoth.^a What I ordained^b for Phentamūn together with the document itself.
2. From Year 9 (for) five years until this time^c Thoth sent me to Pi-peferē^d
3. (concerning) the matters which are beneficial (to) the fortune (of) the Ibis (and) the Hawk.^e I stood with Pshennesōw (in) Alexandria
4. while he was magician among the people.^f I sought concerning these things likewise again (in) Year 1, Hathor, day 9,^g

5. because of the matters which were appropriate to come,^a which Phentamūn had laid down,ⁱ under (the heading of) that which concerned the temple of Pi-psite,^j (in) a dream.
6. Behold the blessings which befell the fortune (of) Phentamūn. I discussed them(?) with
7. Enneusōtem (?) the priest who is chosen^k in the Abaton.
8. Account of the matters (which) I was told to place [before Phent]amūn: the content of the document itself:^l
9. 'Thoth the great, the great, who is the [elder born: the gods] who are at the head of the Sktt-bark
10. revere him for his making a beneficial writing. The writing is beautiful for a fighting (?) man: its confirmation:^m the mighty assemblage stands within it,ⁿ for (this is) lasting good fortune'.

Notes

a. The introduction of this character, unavoidable sooner or later, must cause considerable problems, for it now seems that there are two personages involved in our texts. Evidence will be given in full in the Commentary below (§ 1) to show that this second character, who was also named Hor, was the resident petitioner at the ibis-shrine of North Saqqāra, who qualifies himself in our texts with such epithets as 'Hor who is over the petitions' (Texts 16, 17), and, as here, 'Harthoth' (possibly to be interpreted 'Hor of Thoth', cf. the fuller form *Hr Dhwtj nb rnh* in Text 23, V^o 15). The fine Memphite hand which appears in many of our documents is his, as befits a professional scribe, and it is clear that he was used by Hor of Sebennytyos as his secretary, while drafting his petition to Philometor; much of the material written in his hand is therefore narrated by Hor of Sebennytyos, and is to be ascribed to him, but occasionally, as in Text 23 and in the present example, he has inserted experiences of his own, wherever judged relevant. His very close link with the other Hor is shown by the verso of the present document, which is to be attributed to Hor of Sebennytyos. Occasionally (Text 23, and perhaps 25) the two

appear together; but when an unqualified Hor is mentioned, it seems best to assume that the reference is to the Sebennytyic one, whichever hand may have composed the text.

b. See Text 8, R^o 8, 10.

c. The temporal use of a spatial phrase, as frequently in Egyptian, where *dy* or *mn* may mean both 'here' and 'now', 'today' and 'in this place', cf. James, *Hehankhte*, 111-12.

d. An unidentified place-name, perhaps near Alexandria. The nature of 'his companion' is a subject for much speculation, none of it certain.

e. A phrase common to Texts 19-23, the memoranda of § 3 (pp. 73 ff.).

f. i.e. the populace of Pi-peferē. The entire phrase may mean that, like a pastophoros, the office was exercised outside the confines of the temple proper, but it is unwise to read too much into such a statement.

g. 'Year 1' here follows Year 9, and therefore is best taken as the beginning of the joint reign (12 December 170, a date later than any of those given by Skeat in *JEA* 47 (1961), 108, but which may be retrospective). Year 9 of Philometor alone falls in 173/2, and yet we are informed in l. 2 that five years have elapsed since this time. Our best conclusion is therefore that the text was written in about 168, and that the events of 'Year 1' (= 170) were already in the past. The reference to the 'army of Pharaoh', for which the writer feared, would suit a date in 168, immediately after the retreat of Antiochus and the change in Pharaoh's fortunes.

h. See note to Text above.

i. i.e. to be interpreted by oracle, cf. note g to Text 9, V^o 7, p. 45 above.

j. Another obscure place-name. If rightly read, the reference may be either to the alternative name of Khertaha south of Heliopolis (Gardiner, *AEO* ii. 137*, 140*), or to a locality in or near Mendes (ibid. ii. 150*), or to another unknown place. Phentamūn seems to be associated with this temple in some way, but it is not stated that he held any office there.

k. Compare the procedure outlined in Text 19, V^o 5 and parallels.

l. From this point the writer seems to be copying from Text 12A.

m. Cf. the similar phrase at the conclusion of the dream in Text 1; 'it' is feminine, and probably refers to an implied *rwst*.

n. 'It' is now masculine, and must refer to the *sh nfr*.

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TEXT 12A

Height	8.0 cm.
Width	13.1 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XIV
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-230 [5498]


Six faded fragments of a dull reddish-ware ostrakon. The verso is blank. It would seem, from the text alone, that this ostrakon preserves the 'document itself' which is copied out in Text 12, and for this reason it is included here, and not among the fragments.

Text

(This is in large part restored from the writings of Text 12, and detailed references are not given).

1. *ibd-3 [jht sw 9]*
2. *Dhwtj p[] p[] nty[] y (n) ms p[] it [n[ntrw nty n t[hrt t[]*
3. *Sktt [[hn-w]]^b snt n-f r-d[] p[] y-f tr sh nfr*
4. *en sh r rmt knkn <bn-iw-w in>^c p[] y-s [ch-rd] p[] wyt*
5. *dry ch[] hn[f]^d Wstr nb R-strw^e*
6. *my [.....] rh [..... h]r strm^f*
7. *my try [.....]*
8. *[.....]^g n[] t[] nty šms [.....]*
9. *[.....] (traces)^h [.....]ⁱ*

Notes

- a. Written over a horizontal stroke.
- b. Apparently erased by the writer.
- c. I cannot interpret the traces at the end of this inserted phrase.
- d. There may just be room for the *hr shn nfr* of Text 12, 11.
- e. Written, as often in these texts, *rswt*.
- f. Apparently the word for 'clover', with the 'speaker' determinative altered to .
- g. The determinative is clearly visible, but I cannot identify the word.

- h. *try* seems excluded by the traces.
- i. Both *bn-pw* and *rn* are imaginable here.

Translation

1. [Hathor, day 9].^a
2. Thoth the great, the great, who is the elder born, the father (?). [The gods who are at the head of the]
3. *Sktt*-bark revere him for his making a beneficial writing.
4. The writing is beautiful for a fighting (?) man. <They shall not>. Its confirmation: the mighty
5. assemblage stands within it [.....]. Osiris, lord of Ro-stau,
6. may [.....] know [.....] with clover (?)
7. may (they) take [.....]
8. [.....] those (?)^b who serve [.....]
9. [.....] (traces) [.....].

Notes

a. This restoration may seem perhaps overbold, as the initial sign may represent only a phrase added to the following line. The lack of a year-date is notable, although it may reflect the confused situation which prevailed in Egypt during the final months of 170, before the abrogation of the joint reign became generally recognized. The restoration is, however, offered with the utmost reserve.

b. The translation 'she who serves' is equally possible.

Preliminary Remarks

Text 12, written in about 168 by the petitioner of the ibis-shrine of North Saqqâra, records a five-year sojourn in a place named Pi-peferē near Alexandria; during this time, on 12 December 170, he consulted an oracle on behalf of a man named Phentamūn, perhaps a temple employee, or possibly a soldier involved in the hostilities against the invading Seleucid forces. In the resultant dream Thoth appeared, writing a document of encouragement, perhaps similar to the one envisaged in Text 3, R° 8.

On the verso there appears a short message of encouragement to Pharaoh, perhaps addressed to him during the critical period when Antiochus was in control of Egypt. The author of this comforting text is described as 'the priest of Isis', and is doubtless Hor of Sebennytos. Ostrakon 12A seems to contain the original text of the dream, which, with a few omissions, was incorporated into the present document.

TEXT 13

Height	18.6 cm.
Width	15.8 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	5 Y 8/3
Photograph	Plate XV
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-121 [5389]

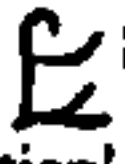


A buff-ware ostrakon, found in five large pieces, inscribed on the recto only. The lower right-hand corner is missing. The thirteen lines of text are clearly preserved, but have been attacked in places by salt, and the early lines are particularly affected by this. At the beginning, one whole line and a second partial one, perhaps an insertion, have been erased, and the second line of the preserved text is extremely faint. The condition of the sherd is otherwise good.

Text

1. *hst-sp 26 ibd-2 prt sw II p: cwy-(n)-htp (n)*
p: hb hrw m-s: tr hrw 2
2. *(n) tr sbr^a dd* []^c
3. *lm n-i pry-i nb Wstr-Hp irm Wstr-Mr-wr*
4. *(lm n-i) pry-i nb c: Wstr-Hp p: ntr c: irm n:*
ntrw nty htp (n) R-strw^a Pr-Wstr-Hp
5. *irm R-strw^a Hp-nb-s irm n: nty htp hr t: st*
(n) t: strt^a Pr-Dhwty
6. *(n) Mn-nfr: sdm hrw-i pry-i nb Wstr Mr-wr*
irm n: ntrw nty htp n:
7. *R-strw Ddlt^a irm n: nty htp (n) t: hst^a lbt*
n 'Iwnw

8.] *dd-w tw-i sm (n) Pr-Wstr-Hp tw-i gm-s*
mtw-i
9.] *tw-f cy (n) ms wr try-ss-nsw^a []' hr st-f*
10. *ss]n(?) (n) trt-f sl wt mstmy*
11. *r]dwy-f tw-f hms hr s[.]sm dwf*
12.] *sm n-lm-f Pr-Wstr-Hp^a*
13.] *wh dr-w*
(further lines may be lost).

Notes

- a. Close observation revealed the determinative ; the whole is a phonetic writing of *spr*, 'pray, petition', cf. Griffith, *Dodecaschoenus*, Glossary, 296.
- b. A lotus-sign is visible, but little else.
- c. *t-tr-hr pry-f* may be visible in the traces, but it is far from certain.
- d. Spelt as the word for 'dream', cf. the example in Text 12A, 5 above.
- e. A semi-phonetic writing of *sprt* 'sleeping-place' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 481).
- f. The scribe seems to have written the word *mnh*, changing this to *mr-wr* as he proceeded.
- g. This stroke is more strictly to be interpreted as a space-filler.
- h. Doubtless to be seen as a writing of the necropolis of Heliopolis, but the writing, obscured by the break in the ostrakon, is difficult to interpret. The entire group may recur in Text 18, R^o 1*, where it is clearly written  and is coupled with the name of the necropolis of Memphis, *mnh-twy*. One name of the Heliopolitan cemetery is preserved for us, namely *Ddlt* (Wb. v. 630; Montet, *Géographie*, i. 137), and it is as a semi-hieratic version of this that one is tempted to read the group; note the determinative, and the forms of the hieroglyph  given in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 616, under *twi*.
- i. Cf. Text 8, V^o 5, where a plural word appears which may be another writing of the same group. I have chosen the reading *hst* rather than *smyt*, whose very existence in demotic is rather doubtful. The following *lbt* overlies a palimpsest which I am unable to read.
- j. The present context is the best evidence for the reading of this group, cf. note f to Text 1, 2, above, p. 8.
- k. The reading seems clear, if unparalleled; *try* in

such a phrase is presumably to be taken as *participium conjunctum*. The alternative, which is to take the verb as a First Present, seems weak, for *wr* on its own is hardly a convincing subject. For *try hr st* as an expression for donning a garment, cf. *Petubastis* (Spiegelberg), 7, 3.

l. A sign here seems to resemble *tr*, but it is very faint, and may even have been erased by the writer.

m. There is room for a middle radical, perhaps *r*, but the best solution seems to be to regard the word as a formation from *ḥ* 'scatter' (ḥwḥ); the translation 'thicket' is approximate only.

n. The scribe began another group after *Pr-*, which he altered as he went.

Translation

1. Year 26, Mekhir, day 11:^a the house of rest (of) the Ibis,^b the day after spending two days
2. (in) making supplication,^c saying [.....] before [.....]
3. 'Come to me my lord Osorapis and Osormnevis:^d
4. (come to me) my great lord Osorapis, the great god, and the gods who rest (in the) necropolis of the Serapeum
5. and (the) necropolis of Ḥepnēbes,^e together with those who rest upon the sleeping-place (of) the House of Thoth
6. (in) Memphis:^f hear my voice my lord Osormnevis (?) and the gods who rest in
7. the necropolis of Djedit, together with those who rest (in) the eastern desert of Heliopolis'.^g
8.] they said:^h I was serving (in) the Serapeum. I found [.....]ⁱ and I
9.] who was great (in) age. A wearer of byssus upon his back^j
10. lot]us (to) his eye: myrrh^k fresh (?) (and) eyepaint^l
11.] his feet, and he was sitting upon a thicket (?) of papyrus
12.] serve him^m (in) the Serapeum
13.] fault (?), all of them

Notes

a. On the assumption that this year too falls within the reign of Philometor, the day would be 10 March 155; with the possible exception of Text 29 the latest date in our archive. See also p. 168 n. b below.

b. The ibis-galleries of North Saqqāra, where the writer, who is probably Ḥor, is petitioning the gods for an oracle.

c. The implication seems to be that on the third day of pleading, the writer was rewarded with an oracle, doubtless in the form of the dream which follows.

d. For the coupling of these two gods, cf. Text 1, 2, and note, p. 12 above. It seems strange that these gods should be the ones addressed, when the location is given expressly as the ibis-gallery; perhaps a process of travelling from shrine to shrine has been compressed into the present text, or it may be that the prayer is intended for all the gods of the Memphite necropolis, and the ibis-gallery is incidental as a setting. A third possibility, less likely perhaps, is that the address to the god was delivered elsewhere, and that the ibis-gallery was only the place where the present text was drafted. The second explanation seems by far the most natural.

e. The area around the shrine of Isis, Mother of the Apis; see topographical commentary below. The 'gods' are presumably the sacred animals buried in their millions within the necropolis.

f. Presumably the dead, buried in the cemetery of the ibis-shrine, who might also instigate dreams if propitiated.

g. The cemeteries of Heliopolis would naturally lie to the east of the city, where several tombs of Mnevis bulls are known to exist (Daressy, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 195-219, and *ASAE* 18 (1918), 196-9, also in particular Gauthier, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 1-4; 15-18). The present text seems to imply that other sacred animals were also interred here, among which one can probably imagine the ichneumon of Atūm and the falcons of Ra-Ḥorakhty. For the area in general, cf. Porter and Moss, *Bibliography*, iv. 59-65.

h. This phrase may mark the introduction of a dream-narrative, but the whole of these last five lines is very obscure.

i. Any third-person pronoun is permissible at this point.

j. Presumably a designation of a priest, for whom garments of byssus were a ritual necessity, cf. the description of Imḥōtep in Papyrus Oxy. 1381, and of the

dream-figure *pj ntr twf n pj smt n wr wrb twf tpy hbs n*
ls-nsw hr itf of Lond./Leid., Col. 4.

k. Possibly the Coptic $\mu\alpha\lambda$ (Crum, 557b), though the dialect forms of this word (not to mention hieroglyphic writings) strongly suggest that the initial letter was *h*; the other Coptic equivalent, $\mu\iota\lambda$, is too obscure to be of help, and a reading *ml* is not convincing.

l. For the older *msdmt* and the Greek $\sigma\tau\iota\mu\mu\iota$, cf. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, 174 ff.

m. Possibly to be seen as an imperative, though the word could equally be part of an epithet **nty tw-w* *lms n-lm-f* or the like.

Preliminary Remarks

In this ostrakon, whose connection with the rest of the archive is suggested more by the handwriting than anything else, the writer records prayers addressed to the gods of the funerary regions of Memphis and Heliopolis. These are followed by a dream, or something very similar, representing a strange figure (the lotus and the papyrus-thicket suggest that the writer may have had the god Nefertēm in mind), and a 'wearer of byssus', who may be offering various precious substances before him. The resemblance between this figure and the apparitions of later magical texts is discussed in § 3 of the Commentary below. The rest is obscure.

TEXT 14

Height	11.4 cm.
Width	9.9 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	10 R 5/6
Photograph	Plate XIV (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XIVA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-32 [461]

This ostrakon has the dubious distinction of being the most obscure document even in the present archive. It is a dark red sherd, broken into three pieces by a blow in the centre of the verso. Both sides of the text have been considerably altered, and contain several erasures

and corrections, and both sides are badly faded. The verso is in large part covered by a blot of ink. These difficulties would not be so considerable if the content of the text, when deciphered, were clear, but the subject-matter is as obscure as the writing, and the following text is offered with all reserve. The sprawling hand may be that of Hor of Sebennytyos, except for the lines at the top of the verso, which may be quite unrelated.

Text: recto

1. (lost)
2. (traces)
3. (traces)^a
4. (traces)^b
5. *tn bn-pw-k^c nw (r) pj dmc* []
6. *kt: t-dd-s^d n: shsh* []
7. *ty-s^e wpt^f hy r t: nhbt^g*
8. *(n) pj r: kt: n-drt bn-pw-k (tn)^h pj r:*
9. *bn-pw-k dlt ky nry-k hb(w). kt:ⁱ*
10. *rswt^j*

Text: verso

1. *(r-dbt hr hsty (n) sdb* []
2. *wn-n: dd mdt nb rh ty* []^k
3. *my n-i py-k wr* []
4. *tny n-k py-l hb.*
5. *kt: sms n-k* [] *kt: ph*
6. *t: styt* [] *wn-n:l*
7. *n-lm-w* [] *hsty-k* []^l
8. *p: r: py-f^m wsh dd*
9. *p: hrⁿ ky (n) p: ts [[p:]]^o (t)tr-rh-k*
10. *p: wd: []^p lrm prt tw-k*
tw-w^q
11. [] *hr-hr-l.*

Notes

a. The writing of this line is small, and it may be an insertion.

b. This line probably began with *kt*, but I can make nothing of the later traces.

c. The group is written *12*, and resembles *bn-pw-k*, more than *t-tr-k* or a strange writing of *tr-k*; in a

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text of this sort there is clearly little to be gained from a reading *ad sensum*.

d. For this writing of the imperative $\Delta\chi\iota\epsilon$, cf. Text 8, V^o 1, etc.

e. $\iota\gamma\gamma\iota$ is also a possible reading, but with it the syntax (if any) collapses.

f. The only certain features of this word are that it is a feminine noun, and a part of the human body; $\omega\pi\tau$ 'forelock' is suggested here, but hmt , whether in the sense of 'palm' (hmt , cf. Fairman, *JEA* 54 (1968), 236) or 'vulva' (*Wb.* iii. 76) is also possible.

g. Very obscure, especially the r ι , which resembles p , and it must be admitted that there is little room for the b of $nhbt$.

h. This word is inserted over the line; its reading is suggested by the writing of the similar word for 'payment' (tn) in the ibis-memoranda.

i. hb seems to have been crossed out by the scribe, and it is therefore difficult to see what he intended. kt is written over a palimpsest which I cannot interpret.

j. $\iota\sigma\omega\tau$ ($\Delta\sigma\omega\tau$) is also possible, but less likely.

k. These words are written in a smaller, neater, and different hand, which seems to recur at other points in the verso. It is perhaps the hand of the palimpsest. Why the writer should be so sparing of ostraca is difficult to see, although he seems to have done the same with Greek Text B, which was written over erased demotic lines.

l. I cannot interpret the traces following $h\iota\gamma\gamma\iota k$.

m. The first sign of this group resembles ι .

n. Cf. the early writings of the determinative in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 265.

o. The sign as it stands resembles hd 'silver', but this yields poor sense, and the sign is indeed so faint that it may have been partially erased. But this is far from certain.

p. The scribe may have written $n\gamma\gamma k$ here, omitting the noun in haste.

q. Extremely uncertain.

Translation: recto

1-3. (lost)

4. Another:^a [lost]

5. Have you not seen the papyrus roll [.....]?

6. Another: tell the blows [.....]

7. her forehead (?): strike the neck (?)

8. (of) the donkey. Another: as you have not (lifted) the donkey,

9. you have not caused your festival(s) to be long.^b

Another (?)

10. dream (?)

Translation: verso

1. (*Because of making a heart (of) hostility [.....])

2. which said every matter [.....]*^c

3. Give to me your one [.....]

4. Raise for yourself my festival (?)

5. Another: serve you [.....]. Another: attain (?)^d

6. the vulva (?) [.....] *I was

7. in them*^e [.....] your heart [.....]

8. the donkey. Its interpretation* says:

9. the long time in the land which (?) you know,

10. the salvation of your [.....] and sustenance (?), you being among them (?)

11. [.....] in my presence.^f

Notes

a. This use of kt to introduce alternative phrases is reminiscent of Text 10; here the phrases seem to be not encomia, but oracular utterances or excerpts from dreams. Donkeys, particularly in sexual acts, play a noticeable role both in Pap. Chester Beatty III, and in the demotic dream-books (cf. Pap. Carlsberg XIII, b, 2, 20; XIV, f, 3; see Volten, *Traumdeutung*, 86-7). These enigmatic phrases are followed (verso, l. 8) by an interpretation of a familiar type.

b. cf. Text 8, V^o 2 for a similar expression.

c. The excerpts enclosed in asterisks are perhaps from the palimpsest text (see note to the text above).

d. Possibly (if the reading is correct) in the obscene sense recorded for $ph\ trm$ (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 138).

e. Badly needed, one would have thought. For the translation, see note to Text 9, V^o 7, p. 45 above.

f. $\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\iota$, cf. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 296, n.

Preliminary Remarks

Much of this strange and badly preserved text records motifs from dreams or similar oracular

material, separated by the word *kt* 'alternative'. These are finally interpreted as a guarantee of the subject's life, perhaps put into the mouth of a god. The document thus fulfils a similar purpose to that of Texts 8, 9, 10, and 11.¹

TEXT 15

Height	11.0 cm.
Width	14.3 cm.
Thickness	0.5 cm.
Munsell	(R°) 10 R 5/3 (V°) 5YR 4/1
Photograph	Plate XVI (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XVIIA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-(1+2) [432+433]

Two ostraca found by Emery in 1965/6 and subsequently joined. The recto, a fine red ware, bears some ten lines, the last having been lightly erased, while the verso, a dark grey ware with striations which make legibility difficult, contains a further nine lines in the same Memphite hand. The relationship of this ostrakon with the Hor texts rests on external criteria only, but its general nature fits well with the other documents.

Text: recto

- x+ 1. [*'Ibt*
2. [] *r pty-t*
3. [] (trace) [] *f t-tr tym*
4. [] *nty tw-f wbt-w sh* []
5. [*pj hm-]ntr* *'Ibt pj hr-hb*
'Ibt sn-s^d lrm snt 2t. Ta-Hrd^d
6. [*tj h]mt (n) Tyskrtis lrm try's snt mdt-w*
lrm-l dd nty
7. [*pj hr-]hb* *'Ibt 'Inp Hr-sj-3st pty*
tj snt 2t 3st lrm Nbt-ht try
8. [] *nw-k r-w lrm-l cn nty nj nty*
tw-w dd n-k
9. [*ht]-ntr* *'Ibt r tr ht-w*]
10. [] (traces) []

¹ Many questions arise about this text. The violent content of the recto makes one wonder whether the ostrakon was smashed deliberately in a ceremony to secure the happy

Text: verso

- x+ 1. *nj nht* []
2. *tn-nj* [] (trace)
3. *hrt (n) pj hb [nty hn] Mn-nfr lrm*
[]
4. *dlt try-k hrt (n) pj hb hr pj tny^a n-s^d* []
5. *wih-k shr hr chyt (n) kt tw-l dlt wt-k* []
6. *r tj chyt (n) ms mtw-k tr t[ym]* []
7. *swht mn sp-sn* []
8. *3st pj rmt Pr-* []
9. *tw-l* []
A tenth line has been inserted along the right-hand margin:
10. *dd bn-tw-k snt rmt tr-k hn* []

Notes

- a. Restored from the examples below.
b. Tentative: *'Ibt* has been altered from *3bt* here.
c. A writing not otherwise known to me, but palaeographically not impossible, and confirmed by the reference to Anubis in l. 7; the funerary connotation of the title is well brought out in the Greek translation ταριχευτής (Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, i. 4; Glanville, *Soter Archive*, xxiii. 1, and Gardiner, *AEO* i. 55^o).
d. Suggested by the traces; the meaning 'seek (the interests of)' is aptly shown in *Demotic Chronicle*, iv. 10, where it is said of Hakoris that *hr-f pj hp r tm hn r-dbt ntyf snw* 'he abandoned the law in order not to seek after his brothers'. The same text (ii. 4) uses the same word with *mdt*, *n-drt hn-f nty-w mdt (n) Ht-nsw*, 'when he (Thoth) investigated their affairs in Heracleopolis'. The same idiom recurs in the next line (ii. 5), and confirmation of the meaning is given in *Rosettana*, 20, where *twf hn nj mdt ph nj r-pytw* corresponds to προσπυνθανόμενος τε τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τιμώτατα in the Greek text. See also the title in Text 19, R° 17, and Text 22, R° 6-7; also Texts 23, R° 11, and 31A, 3-4.
e. = Ταρχάρης, Preisigke 423. *Hrd* as a divinity is rather elusive; he occurs in Pap. Dodgson V° 1 (Griffith, *PSBA* 31 (1909), 100), where he is likened to a local form of Horus in Elephantine, and also in Pap. Leiden I, 348, V° 2, 4 (Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1970), 181, who suggests either that he is Nefertēm, or, less likely, Horheknu or Harsomtheus). The absence of any article is puzzling, and it would seem that one should follow conclusion of V° 8-11, but even this is only the beginning of the mystery. See also p. 132 below.

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Griffith and see in him an abbreviation of *Hr-pi-hrd*, the child *par excellence*.

f. See perhaps the note to Text 3, V° 7, p. 24 above.

g. I can think of no other reading for this strange sign. The following group may represent *hm-ntr*, or more likely a word beginning with *y-*.

h. Perhaps the same word as in Text 11, V° 2 and Text 24B, 5.

i. This word would be appropriate in religious contexts (cf. *wr hr n-s Pth* of *Setne*, 3/10), but the reading is not unassailable.

j. Tentatively restored.

k. Cf. again Text 11, V° 2.

l. Text 3, R° 10 and Text 7, 13.

m. Apparently not *Pr-Dhwty*, as the supralinear stroke is missing, but nothing remains of the name itself.

Translation: recto

- x+ 1. [..... Aby]dos
2. [.....] to my
3. [.....] (trace) [.....] making protection
4. [.....] which is about them (in) writing [.....].
5. ['..... the pro]phet (of) Abydos and the lector-priest of Abydos investigate it,^a together with two sisters'. Takhrati
6. [the wife] of *Tyskrts*^b and her sister, they spoke with me, saying, 'These
7. [..... the lector-]priest (of) Abydos is Anubis (and) Harsiësis: the two sisters are Isis and Nephthys.
8. [.....] you look upon them with me again: those are they who shall say to you
9. [..... (the) temple] (of) Abydos, according to their content (?)^c
10. (traces)'

Translation: verso

- x+ 1. the prayers (?) [.....]
2. Is it that (?) [.....] (trace)
3. food (of) the Ibis which is within Memphis together with (?) [.....]
4. place your food (of) the Ibis upon the dam^d belonging to (?) [.....]

5. you have sworn (an oath) before the chapel-of-the-letter:^e I shall (?) cause you to proceed (?) [.....]
6. to the chapel (of) birth,^f and you shall make [protection (?)]
7. assembled, lasting, lasting [.....]
8. Isis, the man of Pi-[.....]
9. I cause (?) [.....]
10. (in margin) for you shall not fear (a) man, while you are in [.....].^g

Notes

a. See the note to the text at this point; 'it' may be vaguely impersonal, or refer to the temple of Abydos, cf. the common title *pi nty in ht-ntr*.

b. Perhaps *Δεισικράτης or *Τεισικράτης, neither of which is in Preisigke. Διοσκορίδης (ibid. 90) may also be possible.

c. This line may have been erased by the scribe.

d. Perhaps the same feature as the one in Text 11, V° 2, where the 'gods of the north land' are said to be assembled upon it.

e. For these features of the cult of the Ibis, see § 4 of the Commentary below.

f. Probably a designation of *Hor* as author of this text.

g. One may restore either 'Memphis', or the like, or some phrase such as 'the favour of Thoth (?)', the great god', depending upon the length of the missing portion.

TEXT 15A

Height	6.4 cm.
Width	5.1 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	as Text 15
Photograph	Plate XVI
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-197 [5465]

This small ostrakon, found in February 1972, seems to be part of Text 15, although no join is observable, and is included here. The recto is completely faded, and little enough remains of the verso.

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Text: verso

- x+1. [] *Mn-nfr*
2. [] *tr rsrs*^a

Note

a. Very uncertain: a sign \downarrow appears before these words, but above the line, and does not seem part of a connected text at all.

This text bears two broad diagonal lines running from the end of *Mn-nfr* towards l. 2; these may be intended to cancel the writing.

Preliminary Remarks

The general meaning of this text is clearer than its details; a woman named Takhrati, wife of *Tyskrts*, interprets for the writer, who is perhaps *Hr*, an oracle concerning the priests of Abydos. The personages named therein prove to be major gods of Egypt. The verso seems to contain instructions about the food of the sacred ibises. A final line adds that the subject need have no cause for fear.

TEXT 16

Height	11.2 cm.
Width	10.8 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 7/1
Photograph	Plate XVII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-114 [5382]

An ostrakon written on the neck of a buff-ware amphora. The convex recto bears twelve lines in an extremely competent Memphite hand, that of the resident petition-writer of the ibis-shrine, and the first six have been ticked when copied off on to papyrus; the verso, upside down in relation to the recto, bears a further four lines in the same hand. Ll. 9, 11, and 12 of the recto bear considerable signs of revision, and l. 2 has been inserted into the completed text. This document, together with the two following, was found by Martin at the end of January 1972.

Text: recto

1. *n-drt Hr nty wbt p: smy n n: chyt n Kmy (n)*
p: rn p: ntr c:
2. (*Dhwty st tr-rh p: nht mdt nbt nty try p:*
hb (n) htyf)
3. *r-dbt dlt tr-w p: nty nfr-f n p: cš-shn n p:*
hb ht tm dlt ik mdt (n)
4. *t: nty try tryf hrt irm tryf krt. p: nty mkr*
hr t: mdt
5. *rn-s nfr-s n pryf chc n wš ky tw-w tr mdt-nfrt*
6. *n p: hb Yb r n: wbt^a (n) Sm-bhdt. wtwt*
7. *Iy-m-htp s: Pth t-tr-w cš n-f n n: troy dr-w*
r-dbt pryf tr-spy^a
8. *smi-t hr-tb^a 4. bn-pw wr n-lm-w wpy*
9. *t: nty hr n: chyt cy nty tw p: hb ms n-lm-w*
10. *hnⁱ n: tšw irm n: chyt tpywⁱ*
11. *nty tw nry-w iht irm try-w hut.^k try-w gns*
n-drt
12. *n: rmtw dry. p: wr-dlw Dhwty irm pryf*

Text: verso

1. *ncš tr-w p: smty (n) tryf*
2. *wtyt.ⁱ cym twt-w*
3. *itywⁿ r-f^o bn-tw-w rh*
4. *hms^p n-drt-f (n) pryf hrw (n) šnw.*

Notes

- a. One might expect *pryf*, but the text seems clear.
- b. For the phrase, see note to Text 2, R° 13. The stroke which seems to run between *try* and *p:* is perhaps not the preposition *n*, but part of the palimpsest.
- c. The palimpsest has *tp*, which has not been erased.
- d. A highly cursive writing, but other readings are less probable.
- e. The second element is clear, and the meaning confirmed by the mention of *Yb* before, as an expression of the geographical limits of Egypt (cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 30 (1944), 40-1); but the form of the sign *sm* is noteworthy. (See also the remarks of Spiegelberg, *Sagenkreis*, 84.)
- f. A very clear example of an old dual treated syntactically as plural, cf. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 36, note.
- g. A difficult group, which I am not convinced to have interpreted correctly; the parallel writing in

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Text 17A, 10 suggests that the first sign is a separate *tr*, and not to be read after the horizontal *s*; hence my *tr-spy*. The meaning of the second element is perhaps the same as in the *sp n hyk* of *II Kharemsise*, 6, 21, meaning 'magic spell', and the reference is presumably to Imhōtep's powers of healing. The whole phrase resembles the description of Thoth in Text 12, R^o 10, where the gods are said to *snt n-f r-dbt pry-f tr sh nfr*.

h. For the reading of this title, see note to Text 12, R^o 4; the four 'magicians' mentioned here are presumably interpreters of oracles consulted by the writer.

i. The scribe seems first to have written *r*; the additional stroke is unlikely to be a copy-mark, which the scribe has ignored for the last three lines.

j. *dmtw* 'towns' is a possible reading, but suffers from the lack of a suitable determinative.

k. *r* is an alternative reading, although the sense is far from satisfactory; see note to translation below.

l. The determinative seems to have been first , altered rather cursorily to , cf. the parallel in Text 17, l. 9.

m. A writing of *sy* (*oce*), according to Erichsen, *Glossar*, 10, but the confusion of *aleph* and *rayin* at such an early date as the mid-second century B.C. is perhaps unlikely, and one therefore wonders whether the two words are not separate.

n. Apparently the plural of *st(w)*. A similar curse may perhaps be restored in Text 7, 15; see note *ad locum*, p. 36 above.

o. A characteristic disregard for number in pronouns, with the scribe changing from singular to plural indiscriminately.

p. The sublinear stroke is perhaps the final *-s* of the root, rather than a redundant *-k* of a Qualitative used as Infinitive.

Translation: recto

1. From Hōr who is concerned with the petition of the chapels of Egypt,^a (in) the name of the great god
2. (Thoth (whose) might is known (in) every matter which concerns the Ibis (in) his heart)
3. in order to cause to be performed that which is beneficial to the fortune of the Ibis, namely, not to detract from^b (any) matter (of)

4. that which concerns his sustenance and his burial. He who walks upon the path
5. named,^c it is favourable for his life for a long time, while benefit is performed
6. for the Ibis from Elephantine to the shrines (of) Sambehdet.^d May there flourish
7. Imhōtep son of Ptaḥ, to whom they call throughout the entire two lands because of his magic-making (?).^e
8. I petitioned four magicians, (but) not one of them gave judgement on
9. that which refers to the great chapels in which the Ibis is born
10. within the nomes, and the foremost (?) chapels
11. which are their fields and their shrine.^f I have been wronged by^h
12. the mighty men.ⁱ The Great of Five, Thoth, and his

Translation: verso

1. strength, may they perform the slaughtering of his^j
2. progeny! Disaster in their midst!
3. Calamity upon him! None shall know how to
4. sit by him on his day (of) testing.^k

Notes

a. The petition-writer, employed as secretary by Hōr of Sebennytyos in transcribing his own experiences, and author of the Memphite hand in our documents, see note to Text 12, R^o 1 above. The fact that this present text bears the secretary's name suggests that he is here recounting part of his own history, and that he too has been wronged by the 'mighty men' (ll. 11-12), but some, or even all, of the material may have been dictated to him by Hōr of Sebennytyos. The metaphor of the 'path', however (R^o 4), does recur in other passages in his hand (cf. Text 23, verso) and seems to be a characteristic of the Memphite Hōr.

b. Lit. 'cause to perish' (ἵνα, Crum, 405a).

c. A natural metaphor, but a remarkable one for that. The notion of 'walking on the way' of a superior, i.e. conforming to his edicts, is familiar from the *mdw wst nt smnh sw* of Middle Kingdom stelae (e.g. *Khusobk*, 1).

The phrase 'way of the living' (*wyt nt nḥ*) is familiar from Pap. Chester Beatty IV, V^o 6/4; *Instructions of Amennakhte*, 1; *Urk.* iii. 19/4, stela of *Tt-hbt*, 13. The phrase *mlt n nḥ* also occurs (e.g. *Amenemōpe* 1/7; 16/8), and these, together with Hebrew parallels, are discussed by Williams in *Legacy of Egypt* (2nd ed.), 267 ff. From this it is a natural step to describe a religious system as 'The Way (of God)' (Acts 24: 14; a similar metaphor seems to have been current in the earlier sect at Qumrān), and perhaps the best demotic parallel occurs in *Dem. Chron.* 4/7, where it is said of Psammuthis *bn-pwḥ* *hpr dd bn-pwḥ hpr hr tḥ mlt (n) pḥ ntr*, 'he did not exist' means that he did not remain upon the path of the god.¹ One is tempted to wonder, therefore, whether the frequent use of the metaphor by the secretary does not imply that he was an initiate into the mysteries of Thoth. (For the claim which an Egyptian deity could make on a man, cf. the words of Isis in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 6). Although the mere use of such phrases is hardly proof, the repeated use of *bn-pwḥ hpr tḥ mlt* (Text 23, R^o 7-8; V^o 8, 17) surely does much to justify the assumption.

d. For Sambehdet, cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 30 (1944), 41 ff. The phrase is an expression of the northernmost and southernmost limits of Egypt.

e. ογοτογερ in Coptic (Crum, 493b) seems to have lost any figurative meaning of this sort.

f. Cf. among others, Pap. Oxyrh. 1381, 49-57. But the reading is not certain.

g. Again rather obscure; see Commentary on the ibis-cult below. The alternative translation 'gateway' yields little sense.

h. ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπό, cf. Commentary, § 1 on the petition below.

i. Presumably the temple-authorities, against whom the petition was addressed; cf. Text 7, 14 above.

j. An archetypal enemy.

k. A legal metaphor: none shall take his side when he is haled before the 'council that judges the deficient' (cf. *Merikarēr*, 53-4).

Preliminary Remarks

This seemingly incoherent text is best understood by reference to Text 17.

¹ There is of course a literal use of the words as 'divine road', rendered into Greek as δρόμος and ὁδὸς πλατεῖα τῶν θεῶν, which refers to the avenue, often sphinx-lined, leading to a temple, cf. B. Couroyer in *Orientalia*, 38 (1969), 118, and

TEXT 17

Height	25.1 cm.
Width	15.9 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XVIII
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-115 [5383]

This brown-ware ostrakon, with its adjunct 17A, is an expanded version of the preceding text. The verso is dark and mottled, and un-inscribed. The recto, which also bears a few stains, contains twenty-two lines in the same hand as Text 16; all of these, with the exception of ll. 3 and 4, and the last three, have been ticked off for copying. A further twelve lines (one being erased) continue the text on a sherd broken from the lower left-hand side of Text 17, but a consideration of the writing shows that the piece must have been broken away before the scribe began his work. This ostrakon (Text 17A) has the following features:

Height	16.4 cm.
Width	6.8 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Photograph	Plate XVIII
(Excavator's no. and Munsell reading are the same as for Text 17).	

Text 17

1. *n-drt Hr nty wbḥ pḥ smy n nḥ rhyt (n) Kmy*
2. *(n) rn^o pḥ ntr rḥ Dhwtj st tr-rh pḥ nht mdt nbt nty tḥy pḥ hb*
3. *(n) hḥty f r-dbr^o dlt tr-w pḥ nty nfr f (n) pḥy f cš-shn ht^e tm*
4. *dlt rḥ mdt (n) tḥ nty tḥy tḥy f hrt trm tḥy f krst*
5. *dd tw^d tḥy w gns n-drt nḥ rmtw dry n-drt hpr f*

Pestman in *Revue biblique*, 68 (1961), 530-2, no. 76, note 197, but this use is less likely here. For further discussion, and parallels from the tomb of Petosiris, see Appendix 2 below.

6. *nrw* (t) *dl-f* *ry* *n* *t-tr* *gmc* *r-f* *nrw* (t) *dr-f*
7. *prty* *n* *t-tr* *hr* *p* *myt*.¹ *Dhwty*
8. *nb* (chr)^a *irm* *py-f* *nc* *tr-w* *p* *smt*
9. (n) *try-f* *wty*(t). *csy* *tw-w*.
10. *styw* *r-f*. *bn-tw-w* *rh* *hms*
11. *n-drt-f* *py-f* *hrw* (n) *sn*.^a *r*¹ *p* *Wr-dtw*
12. *Dhwty* *tr-rh* *r*¹ *p* *nty* *tr* *mdt-nfr* *n*
13. *p* *hb* *Yb* (r) *n* *wrbt* (n) *Sm-bhdt*
14. *wtt*^a *p* *nty* *m*^a *hr* *t* *mt*
15. *rn-s* *nfr-s* (n) *py-f* *chr* ((n) *w*^a *ky*). *p* *nty* *mdt*
16. *rmt-rh*¹ *r* *lh* *nw-f* *ssw* *r* *ssw*.
17. *nht* (n) *tkn* *mdt* *tw-s* *tn-tw*
18. (n) *p* *hp* *wrt* *wntw* *bn-tw*
19. *slk-s*.^m *n* *-cs* *p* *nty* *ty*
20. *n-lm-s*. *wn* *myt* *nb*
21. (n) *cwy-drt* *Dhwty*
22. *p* *nb* *rh*.^a

Text 17A

1. *bw-tr* *sbh* *mdt* *tw-s* *try*
2. *p* *hb* *n* *gy* *n* *p* *t*.
3. *sm-y* *t* *hr-tb* 4
4. [[*r-lm* *ibd-3* *prt* *sw* 16 (n) *Mn-nfr*]]
5. *bn-pw* *w* *n-lm-w* *wpy* *t* *ht*.
6. *mdt*^a *nty*^b *try* *r*^a *nry* *r-lm*
7. *ibd-3* *prt* *sw* 16 *m-s*.^c
8. *p* *hr-tb* *Iy-m-htp* *s* *Pth*
9. *nty* *tw-w* *cs* *n-f* (n) *n* *trwy* *dr-w*
10. *r-db* *py-f* *tr-spy*.^d
11. *p* *ntr* *rn-f* *p* *nty* *dlc*.^e
12. *mdt* *hr* *nry*
13. (traces erased).

Notes

- a. The parallel text has *p* *rn*, perhaps wrongly.
- b. The palimpsest has *ht*; another sentence runs beneath much of this line.
- c. The palimpsest has *nty* *tr*.
- d. The force of the *tw* is interesting. It is hardly likely to be circumstantial, and it would seem more like the affirmative use of *tw* before a *sdm-f* familiar from Middle Egyptian, where it serves to emphasize the occurrence of the action ('The fact is that'). Its use in demotic

is rare, but not unattested: a good example appears in Pap. Rylands IX, 18/8: *tw-s tw sdm-t-s*, 'See, the fact is that I have heard it'.

e. Probably a writing of *nn* 'those'; note the full writing of *t-tr* after the article, familiar in these texts.

f. The masculine *mt(n)* (*ⲙⲧⲏⲧ*, Crum, 188a), but doubtless with the same connotations as *t* *mt* (see note to Text 16, R^o 4-5 above).

g. For this title of Thoth as measurer of time, cf. Boylan, *Thoth*, Ch. 8 and p. 188.

h. The parallel in Text 16 writes the plural here.

i. This phonetic writing of *tw* (e) is not usual in our texts, and may be a flourish of the professional writer. The meaning is perhaps circumstantial.

j. An introduction to the direct object demanded by a 'durative' tense, cf. note *h* to the translation of Text 1, 4, p. 12 above.

k. Either a secondary formation from *wt* 'flourish', or, less likely, a defective writing of *wtwt* (Text 16, R^o 6).

l. Presumably in the common meaning 'decent, wise' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 247).

m. A similar word, spelt *srrr*, occurs in Strasbourg Ostrakon B (Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 50 (1912), 35, l. 7). Its meaning in this case is hard to grasp, but here a translation 'fail, lapse', may be in order.¹

n. Cf. *p* *rh* in Text 3, R^o 16.

o. The usual expression in our texts for an oracular utterance of some kind, cf. Text 23, R^o 8, where three *ht-mdt* are mentioned. Some of these 'utterances' seem to take the form of a dream or vision, and indeed a parallel can be found in Hebrew with the word *נִבְיָה*, cf. Isaiah, 13: 1, where we are told of 'the oracle of (i.e. concerning) Babylon which Isaiah son of Amoz saw (*נִבְיָה*)'. Some other *ht-mdt*, however, are presumably the enigmatic utterances recorded in Texts 14 and 15, which emanated from the god through his human servants. Such questions are discussed in § 3 of the Commentary below.

p. The palimpsest here has a word such as *bin* or the like (the determinative is clear), overlaid with *ht*, overlaid in its turn by the text.

q. Clearly written before *nry*, and one wonders whether the complete reading of the phrase *t* *nty* *try* is not *t/n* *nty* *try* *r*; but none of the other examples writes the preposition.

r. The pronoun may possibly be redundant.

s. See note to Text 16, R^o 7.

t. The palimpsest seems to have *wbt-t*.

¹ The use of *bn-tw* before a *sdm-f* is noteworthy, and may be deliberately formal.

Translation: Text 17

1. From Hor who is concerned with the petition of the chapels of Egypt,
2. (in the) name (of) the great god Thoth (whose) might is known (in) every matter which concerns the Ibis
3. (in) his heart, in order to cause to be performed that which is beneficial (to) his fortune, namely not to
4. detract from (any) matter (of) that which concerns his sustenance and his burial:
5. for (the fact) is that I have been wronged by the mighty men, inasmuch as
6. those whom he^a made great (are) the ones who brought grief upon him, (and) those whom he made
7. pre-eminent^b (are) the ones who abandoned the path. Thoth,
8. the lord of (lifetime), and his strength, may they perform the slaughtering (of)
9. his progeny! Disaster in their midst!
10. Calamity upon him! None shall know how to sit
11. by him (on) his day (of) testing. For the Great of Five
12. Thoth knows him who performs benefit for
13. the Ibis from Elephantine (to) the shrines (of) Sambēdet.
14. He who walks upon the path named prosper.
15. It is favourable (for) his life ((for) a long time). He who speaks
16. wisdom rather than foolishness sees^c days upon days.
17. The matter which comes to the law^d
18. conquers swiftly, (in) a single hour: it shall not
19. fail (?). Numerous is he who comes
20. to it: (for) every path is
21. (in) the hands of Thoth,
22. the knowing lord.

Translation: Text 17A

1. No matter is ever forgotten^e which concerns
2. the Ibis in (any) way on earth.
3. I petitioned four magicians
4. [[until Phamenoth, day 16, (in) Memphis]]:
5. (but) not one of them gave judgement on the utter-
6. ance which concerns these things^f until
7. Phamenoth, day 16, except
8. the magician of Imhōtep, son of Ptaḥ,
9. to whom they call (throughout) the entire two lands
10. because of his magic-making (?).^g
11. The god himself was the one who
12. recorded^h in connectionⁱ with this.
13. (erasure).

Notes

- a. The god Thoth.
- b. See note to Text 4, R^o 2, p. 30 above.
- c. Strictly a *sdm.f*, which has been taken in a gnomic sense.
- d. See note to the translation of Text 25, 8, p. 92 below; the imagery here seems to be that the man who walks in the way of Thoth is assured of victory before justice, and this is presumably connected with the idea of redress against the 'mighty men' who have wronged the servant of the god.
- e. Or perhaps 'on behalf of it', the victorious cause.
- f. There seems to be no grammatical subject to this sentence, unless the verb *ibḥ* be taken as passive, and the whole has been treated as an impersonal clause; perhaps a plural *iw* is to be understood after *bw-tr*.
- g. Presumably an oracle concerning the fortunes of the Ibis, which Hor had communicated to several agencies, human and divine, in order to secure an interpretation.
- h. See note to Text 16, R^o 7, p. 61 above.
- i. For *dlr-mdt*, see Text 1, 11, and note, p. 10. In both these cases, it is significant that the word occurs when describing the outcome of a dream or oracle, and it is difficult to resist the idea that the word implies, not only mere recording of the material, but also its interpretation, for the point here is surely that the *hr-tb* of

Imhōtep had succeeded in deciphering an enigma which had baffled all others.

j. Text 1, 11 also has this preposition after *glc-mdt*.

Preliminary Remarks

This text, an expanded version of the preceding, is likewise the work of the Memphite Hor, resident petition-writer at the ibis-shrine. He has, he tells us, been wronged by 'the mighty men' (presumably the temple authorities), who have misused and perverted the responsibility entrusted to them by the god (ll. 5-7). A bitter curse is then directed against them. The text continues to describe the fortunes of the pious man, to whom Thoth offers support and victory over his enemies. In the adjunct (Text 17A), an oracle, perhaps delivered by Thoth and possibly resembling the obscure passages of Texts 14 and 15, is interpreted, after four unsuccessful attempts (ll. 3-6), by the magician (*hr-tb*) of Imhōtep, whose cult lay near by. This event is dated to 16 Phamenoth of an unnamed year; if, as seems possible, this oracle is the one referred to also in Text 22 below, the year would be the fifth of the joint reign, and the corresponding date 16 April 165. But this is not entirely certain.

TEXT 18

Height	15.4 cm.
Width	21.6 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 7/1
Photograph	Plates XIX (R°), XX (V°)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-112 [5380]

A large buff-ware ostrakon, covered with writing on both sides. The main text of the recto (convex surface) comprises fifteen lines, with the occasional erasure or lacuna; in addition to these, two lines are added upside down at the bottom of the ostrakon, and a similar three lines fitted into the small space at the top. The

verso comprises twenty lines in the same hand, but the first three are short and may represent an afterthought on the part of the scribe. The hand seems to be Memphite, but the writer identifies himself merely as 'Hor', without qualification. The entire text, an invocation to various gods to appear in a dream, is naturally full of recondite mythology, a commentary upon which would be out of place in a preliminary publication; I have therefore confined comments to palaeography and other essential matters. The copy-ticks by the first five lines of the recto suggest that this text like others was copied on to papyrus. The language of this incantation is strongly coloured by archaisms, such as the frequent use of the preposition *m*, forms such as *ht-ntr-f* (R° 2*), and possibly the unusual negative *bn-tw thr-k/t* of R° 11, 14. Another feature is the common use of small space-fillers between words, often before the names and titles of divinities.

Text: recto

1. *wcb^a wcb Rc-Hr nb pt hy^b Rc-Hr itn hy Rc-Hr pr n mhy hy Rc ntr c^c hy Rc-*
2. *Hr tpy iht(?)^d hy Rc-Hr nht (n) 'Iwnw^e hy Hr hht^f hy Hr hrby^g pt hy*
3. *Rc-Hr n t^h hy Rc n Msc-hrw^h hy Rc-Hr wbn hy Rc-Hr shm hy Rc-Hr shm n nⁱ ntrw*
4. *hy Rc-Hr hht(?)ⁱ n 'Iwnw hy Rc-Hr p^j k^j hy Rc-Hr p^j k^j msc hy Rc-Hr nty-ht^j hy*
5. *Rc-Hr mht(?)^k n itn lrt-f n-drt-f m Dwst^l m hp^lry^m mhrr wc hht^f m st mhy.*
6. *Msc tpyⁿ wtn n Rc 3st tpy wtn n Rc Ht-Hr tpy wtn n Rc Dhwt^y tpy wtn n Rc*
7. *Hnsw tpy wtn nb Dwst (wtn) tpy wtn n Rc Skty^o Mtⁱ(?)^p p^j wtn n Rc Hp(?)^q wtn*
8. *nb Hp(?)^r sk nb n^s sstw c^y n 'Iwnw^e by 'Iwnw by Mhy(?)^t by 'Iwnw By-h^s*
9. *By-h^s Skr-Wsir n pt Skr-Wsir n t^h Skr-Wsir Skr-Wsir(?)^u Skr-Wsir n ht-f nbt*
10. *Skr-Wsir m hrb-f nb Skr-Wsir bhn n-f lrt-f hy n-f hty-f. lk nⁱ ctyw*

THE DEMOTIC TEXTS

11. nb th nb r.f. spw.s.
bn-lw thr.k^u Wstr nb ntw nhh kh nb []
nb^u st
12. n Msr-hrw sty n.k hty Hr-dsryt nsw-ntr(?)^u
nht [st] ntr r hty(?)^{aa} n.k
13. st-f (n) Wstr hms Hcpy^{bb} cnh mwo hns nb
th [hr]^{cc}
14. bn-lw thr.t^{dd} 3st wr(t) hkt(i) smn st Mset
sy.s [wd] Dwst]
15. hty(?)^{aa} Rr mn.s i-tr s^{ee} dt. hms
Hcpy(?) cnh [(traces)].

(The five lines which appear upside down at top and bottom of the recto are probably the continuation of the verso, and will appear at the end of the latter).

Text: verso

1. tw-l cš n.k [(n) pt (n) itn(?)]^a
2. 'Iy-m-htp kmj(?)^b rsny^c
3. t: thn nb cnh-twy^d [(n) Mn-nfr]
(The next line is added in the margin)
- 3a. sh Hr hst-sp tot ibd-2 smw^e sw 9
4. mdt i-tr-hr.k Nfr-tm sšn nfr ck(?)^f mdt
i-tr-hr.k Nfr-tm hkrw nfr hnti(?)^g mdt i-tr-hr.k
5. Nfr-tm sšn mdt i-tr-hr.k nfr mdt i-tr-hr.k twy
mdt i-tr-hr.k hwy twy hms Hcpy(?)^h cnh
6. mw hns th tnⁱ hr.k nfr. mdt i-tr-hr.k (Rr-Sw
m rn-f nb) [[p:]] syf i-tr pr p: sšn []^j
i-tr
7. pr m cnh-twy p: wny i-tr wdr p: kh cnh-twy
hnm^k m itn mhr i-tr hprⁱ
8. Hr-bik snky^m bn-lw nry-f cwyw hns Hr-pi-hrd
wr tp r (n) Wstr hms Pr-r: maw hn(š)ⁿ th rn^o
9. mdt i-tr-hr.k Dhwti hhp^p dd wr hsf(?)^q n n:
ntrw Pr-n: lhy n: rdw n: ntrw n: hmw-ntr^r
n: ntrw
10. lhy nb nfr di.k Pr-r: tym^s hkm^s spwt^t lhy
nb nfr^u [dew-nsw dbr(?)^v k].^u
11. mdt i-tr-hr.k Dhwti hhp nb Mset nb t: (?) - Mset^u
nty tw m: rn-f tw-f tr hhp. mdt i-tr-hr.k Dhwti
p: nb tr-rh^u
12. nb spw.^u ry rh rn.k m wtyt m pr m r: k dt
n.k []^u n.k r-pr

13. sbty n.k wth wpy snw^{aa} sbwyw^{bb} n t: nb Shmt
rit sit n Rr
14. hr Hmk^{cc} tr.k^{dd} sm: Pr-r: šic dt. tn hr.k
r^{ee} nfr.
15. mdt hr.k ntr pr m Dwst^{ff} 'Iy-m-htp wr s: Pth
hry m-šs^{gg} Wstr pr.k pr.k^{hh} wshyt
16. m ct tr.k hs crk-hh sdm.k m rby tgg.k (r)
šk.sⁱⁱ šsp.k sy.s m rby
17. šsp hwy nhh(?) snt(?)^{jj} p: i-tr m sr: n.k šw
(n) hbg^{kk} m cw 3st hnc Nbt-ht rit
18. tw-s(?)^{ll} tm r rswt n Hr-wr(?)^{mm} pr by.k hry
ht.k (n) t: Dwst sm n
19. Skr-Wstr m sh(?)^{ff} Tytmⁿⁿ s: wr n Pth i-tr-sny
mtw.k snt (n) pr
20. ršy ršy r mn.k^{oo}

(The text continues in the inverted lines of the recto)

- 1.* ršy ršy hh nty hn cnh-twy try.k st nfrt Ddt^{oo}
ršy
- 2.* ms-rdwy nty hn ht-ntr-f^{aa} bn-lw-l hn hrw r:
(The following lines appear in the space at the top of the recto)
- 3.* m wsh^{tt} rit. tm n-l nb i-tr šic dt^{uu} mn.k hb(?)
ltyw.k
- 4.* tn hr.k nfr nw trt.k hty(?) mnh tr.k(?) m-
s: l(?)
- 5.* hh(?) nfr nry(?)

Notes: recto

a. Apparently preceded by a stroke, possibly a copy-tick, although only the first lines show this feature.

b. The scribe seems to have begun the *ry* of V^o 12, and the result lacks the characteristic determinative (𓂏) of the other writings of *hy* which follow.

c. The palimpsest has *hs*.

d. An enigmatic title, clearly written though it is. For *tpy* cf. the similar writings in ll. 6-7 below. The final *f*, which is unmistakable, suggests **tpy* *dew*^f, but this is normally confined to Anubis. The text as given is little more than a guess.

e. See notes to Text 1, 2, p. 8 above.

f. See also notes to Text 3, R^o 26, p. 23 above. The present text contains many examples of this word, writings which seem to fall into two groups. The first,

which appears as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$, occurs in R° 5 and 5*; the reading *hh* is confirmed by the toponym *crk-hh* in V° 16, while for the form of the hieroglyph 𓆎 in later hieratic, cf. Möller, *Paläographie*, iii. 37. The

second writing (R° 2; V° 9, 11) appears as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$. Now the difference between these two writings may be quite illusory, but it is tempting to see in the second group a word such as *trw* 'praise' (*Wb.* i. 28). Since this possibility is unproven, I have used the transliteration *hh* throughout. For a figurative use of what appears to be the same word, see Text 26, R° 14 below.

g. Possibly the *hry-b* of *Wb.* iii. 146?

h. The reading *Mrt-šps* is excluded by the re-appearance of the word in R° 12 below.

i. *Hr-dy* as a place-name (*Hartai*) is a possible reading, but the recurrence with *mrr* would be difficult to explain.

j. A semi-phonetic writing of *nd-ittf* (-ενδωτης). For similar spellings in the group used as a proper name see notes to Text 19, R° 1, p. 75 below.

k. Tentatively identified with the *mh* 'offspring' of *Wb.* ii. 120; but the reading itself is not certain.

l. The palimpsest may have had *cnh-trwy*, although some of the final signs are difficult to reconcile with this.

m. Unless *mhpri* is to be taken as one word (of unknown meaning), it seems necessary to take *hpri* as some by-form of the root *hpr*, possibly as an approximation to *hpri* (шприе). The reading **m tr pri* is less convincing.

n. Unlikely to be a writing of *pri* 'this', which appears in our documents only as $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ or 𓆎 . See also note *d* above.

o. Cf. the similar writings in Text 12, R° 9; 12A, 3.

p. Possibly a semi-phonetic equivalent of (m)*rndt*; this tentative reading is suggested by the proximity of *Sktt*, and by the late variant $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ in *Wb.* ii. 48.

q. Similar abbreviated writings have been encountered in the stelae of the Mothers of the Apis, although usually only in the compound *Wstr-Hp*. The reading is therefore far from certain.

r. See notes to Text 3, R° 17, p. 23 above.

s. In spite of the two different writings of this word in the same line, the identification is supported by V° 18, where it occurs in opposition to *ht* 'body'. See also the note to Text 19, R° 5, p. 75 below.

t. This group $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆏}$ is unknown to me. Its closest relative seems to be the *Šr-hy* of BM. 10591, V° 5, 7, where it may be an abbreviation of *Šis-htp* (Thompson, *Siut Archive*, 59); yet this is unlikely in the present context. *Bch(y)* 'Hermopolis' may be a possible reading. *Hsy* 'Xois' is much less likely. The text is offered with reserve.

u. Possibly a variant of *Bt-hr-ht* 'Buchis' (cf. Mond-Myers, *The Bucheum*, ii. 38), but not otherwise attested. Perhaps the name was prompted by the repetition of *by* earlier in the line. Other readings may be possible.

v. This group may represent *spy* (ceene) 'remainder', or the element known from *tr-spy* in Text 16, R° 7; 17A, 10. The latter seems to recur in V° 12 of the present text, but the writing is not identical, and I have chosen the former reading.

w. I have not been able to identify this word elsewhere. *th(r)* (*dhr*) 'to be bitter' occurs elsewhere in this text, but written quite distinctly. The determinative seems to be a phallus (?); hence the translation.

x. I cannot interpret the surviving traces, which resemble 𓆎 .

y. Not *ntr r*, which is written later in the same line.

z. The traces before *st* are too faint to read.

aa. The same group in l. 15 below. Reading tentative.

bb. The writings given in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 293, are widely different, but other readings (*Hp?* 'Ich?') are even less convincing.

cc. I can make no sense of these traces, nor of *shr* (?).

dd. *k* was originally written below the line, then perhaps erased.

ee. The same extended use, which resembles *t-tr-hr*, in R° 3* below.

Notes: verso

a. Badly obscured by a lacuna. *itn* (εττῆ) is suggested by Smith.

b. The flesh determinative is unusual; perhaps the word is to be understood in the sense of 'creature, offspring'.

c. For this semi-phonetic writing of *rs-inb-f* as a cult-epithet of Ptah, cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 991, where it is confirmed by the hieroglyphic equivalents in bilingual texts. For an alternative spelling, *t-tr-snfy*, in which the first syllable probably corresponds to Coptic ep-, see l. 19 below.

d. Written in normal demotic characters, as opposed

to the hieraticized writings of V° 7 and R° 1* and of Text 23, R° 6.

e. The same abbreviated writing as in Text 2, R° 12 above.

f. The traces resemble *nkt* (ⲛⲕⲧ) more than the text, which is influenced by the following *hntt* (?), a word which shares a similar determinative. Unfortunately the latter is scarcely more than a guess, and the whole sentence is therefore far from understood.

g. See previous note; alternative readings may be possible, as *hntt* (?), but their meanings are no clearer.

h. See note *bb* to the recto above.

i. Further examples of the phrase in V° 14, and R° 4* support this reading rather than *htp*.

j. This rather tangled group may represent an unsuccessful attempt to write *t-tr pr*, which the scribe abandoned and began again.

k. At first sight deceptively similar to *hh* as written above (see note *f* to the recto), but the determinative of the present group is different. For *hnm m ttn* see *Wb.* iii. 380 and especially *Sinuhe* R 7 = Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, 3, l. 7.

l. The final stroke seems to be part of the group itself, and not a following *f*.

m. *snt*, which may be a possible reading, is, however, written differently in our texts (cf. Text 3, R° 8, 25); it is also less appropriate to a description of the god Horus.

n. The final *-š* has been omitted by the scribe, but is confirmed by the parallels in the present line and in R° 13; V° 6 above.

o. The parallels have *rn-f*, which may have been intended here but fallen victim to the lack of space.

p. *hnm* or even *hnn* (Text 3, V° 10) are also acceptable here. The whole is probably to be taken as some sort of divine epithet, like *ms-rdwy* or *rh-rn-k*.

q. A more convincing reading than *htp-ntr*, cf. Tanis Stela (Canopus), 7, where *n* *hmw-ntr* appears as *ⲛⲧⲙⲱⲛⲧⲣ*; see Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1555, l. 4.

r. For this word, corresponding to Coptic ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲁⲁ, see the notes to Text 3, R° 17, p. 23 above.

s. Possibly the ⲑⲟⲕⲁⲁⲉⲥ of Crum, 664b; but the sense must be a figurative one.

t. Tentatively identified with *wpt* 'booty', cf. some of the semi-phonetic writings in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 85. The final signs seem to have been borrowed from the phonetically similar *spd/tpd* 'bird, goose', but the whole is far from certain.

u. *nfr* in the present example seems to have acquired

a redundant final *-t*, which is absent from the writing at the beginning of the line.

v. The whole of this final group is obscure: *dw-nsw* is dubious, *dbk-k* (?) so faint that it may even have been erased.

w. The initial group presents the difficulties. One would expect *drt-* to show an introductory sign, thus

ⲧ or the like. *Tj-* in l. 13 below has a supralinear stroke. *Tp-*, which is palaeographically better, is unattested with *mrt*. The translation is therefore conjecture.

x. So rather than *nb rnh*; for these titles of the god Thoth see Appendix 2 below.

y. Taken in the sense of *tr-spy* in Text 16, R° 7 and 17A, 10; see also note *v* to the recto above.

z. I can make nothing of this group.

aa. Unfortunately not *mrt*, combined as it often is with *wpy*; cf. Anthes, *JNES* 16 (1957), 176 ff. The expression must therefore be understood as a reference to Thoth's role as separator of the two combatants (*wpr rhwy*) in the myth of Horus and Seth, cf. Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 141 ff., although the historical reconstruction should be read in the light of Te Velde, *Seth God of Confusion*, 74 ff.

bb. Possibly the *ibwt* of *Wb.* i. 8, with reference to the enemies of the sun god.

cc. I have taken this as a phonetic variant of *Hmrg*, 'the bandaged one', a late by-name of the god Osiris (*Wb.* iii. 94, cf. the spelling *hmrk* for the associated verb). But the reading is not assured.

dd. Not *mtw-k*, in spite of the strange initial sign.

ee. This preposition is not encountered in the parallels (V° 6; R° 4*); it may have been omitted in the parallels, or the scribe may have chosen to vary his formula. He does this considerably in V° 4-6 above, and is at liberty to do so now.

ff. The scribe seems first to have written *kyt*; see notes to Text 8, R° 22, p. 43 above.

gg. This Memphite writing is quite different from those of Text 3, V° 2, which is probably a Sebennyitic hand, and Text 1, 17, whose origin is unknown.

hh. These two writings of the same word differ, the first lacking the second element */* (cf. the season *pri* and the note on *Pr(?) Dhwtj* in Text 1, i, p. 8 above). In l. 18 below the first element */* is missing. Some of this variation may be due to speed of dictation, but the rest stands as a reminder that the palaeography of Demotic is not static.

ii. Cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 524; the first sign is not *m-*,

jj. Neither reading is satisfactory.

kk. *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*, Crum, 656b(?).

ll. It must be admitted that the other writings given in note gg to Text 1, 11, p. 10 above, are more convincing; the present example is far from certain.

mm. This entire group is dubious: the first sign is not *hr* and unlikely to be *t*-, but the interpretation is a difficult problem.

nn. Taken tentatively as the name of the goddess of weaving (*Wb.* v. 231-2), perhaps used figuratively. For *sh(?)* = *srh*, cf. Möller, *Rhind*, Glossary, n. 353.

oo. The strange gaps in this final line are difficult to explain, but it is at least possible that the words represent an instruction or reminder to insert the additional lines from the recto (those numbered 1*-5* below); these lines can certainly be divided into two sections, one beginning with *ry* (R° 1*), the other with *mn-k* (R° 3*). This would presumably have happened when the text was transferred to papyrus, and I have so reconstructed the translation below.

pp. See notes to Text 13, 7, p. 55 above.

qq. A clear attempt at archaism, as with the repeated use of the preposition *m*, and possibly in *bn-tw thr-k* above. See the introduction to the text.

rr. Spelt elsewhere in these documents as *wshyt*; the strange sign after the determinative may have strayed in from the verb *pr*, a word which must have understandably obsessed the writer of this text.

ss. A rather cramped writing of the phrase in R° 15 above.

Translation: recto

1. Pure, pure,^a Ra^c-Horus lord of heaven!
Hail, Ra^c-Horus (the) disc, hail Ra^c-Horus,
come forth from (the) balance,^b hail Rē^c,
great god, hail Ra^c-
2. Horus at the head of his horizon (?), hail
Ra^c-Horus, strong in Heliopolis, hail Horus
(of) millions,^c hail Horus, lofty soul (?) of
heaven, hail
3. Ra^c-Horus of earth, hail Rē^c of *msc-hrw*,^d
hail Ra^c-Horus (the) shiner, hail Ra^c-Horus
(the) power, hail Ra^c-Horus (the) power of
the gods,
4. hail Ra^c-Horus ruler of Heliopolis, hail Ra^c-
Horus the bull, hail Ra^c-Horus the true bull,
hail Ra^c-Horus avenger of his father, hail

5. Ra^c-Horus offspring (?) of the disk, his eye
in his hand,^e in the Netherworld, in the
form (?) of scarab, a millionfold in the place
of weighing!^f
6. Ma^cat, at the head of the bark^g of Rē^c, Isis
at the head of the bark of Rē^c, Hathor at the
head of the bark of Rē^c, Thoth at the head
of the bark of Rē^c,
7. Khons at the head of the bark, lord of the
Netherworld, (bark)^h at the head of the bark
of Rē^c, (*M*)*sktt*, *Mrdt*(?), the bark of Rē^c,
Apis(?), every
8. bark, Apis(?), every destruction(?),ⁱ the
great mysteries of Heliopolis, soul (of)
Heliopolis, soul (of) Lower Egypt(?), soul
(of) Heliopolis, Buchis(?)
9. Buchis(?), Seker-Osiris of Heaven, Seker-
Osiris of earth, Seker-Osiris, Seker-Osiris(?),
Seker-Osiris in all his embodiments,^j
10. Seker-Osiris in all his transformations,^k
Seker-Osiris, whose eye is effulgent^l for
him, whose heart is elated for him! Cease
the limbs!
11. Lord of all bitterness against him!^m Its
remainder: Thou shalt not copulate (?),
Osiris, Lord of the city of eternity, of every
land, of every [.....], of the place
12. of *msc-hrw*! Calamity to thee, shining one,
Horus the red,ⁿ king of god(s), strong
[.....] place, great god! Terror(?) to thee,
13. back of Osiris!^o Subside, living Nile! Foul
water, lord of bitterness [.....
.....]
14. Thou shalt not copulate(?), Isis, great of
magic! Establish the seat of Truth, its beam
[secure in the Netherworld]!
15. Terror(?) (to thee), Rē^c! It^p abides for
eternity. Subside, living Nile(?) [.....
.....]

Translation: verso

1. I call upon thee [in heaven, in earth(?)],
2. Imhōtep, creation of south-of-his-wall,^q

3. (in) the peak, lord of 'Ankhtawy [(in) Memphis].
- 3a. (in margin) Written by Hor in Year 10, Paoni, day 9.'
4. There speaks before thee Nefertēm, the beautiful lotus *ḥ*-offerings(?), there speaks before thee Nefertēm, the beautiful adornment *hntt*-offerings(?), there speaks before thee
5. Nefertēm the lotus, there speaks before thee the beautiful, there speaks before thee the two lands, there speaks before thee the protector of the two lands! Subside, living Nile(?),
6. foul water, bitterness! Raise thy beautiful face! There speaks before thee (Ra^c-Shu in all his names), child' who came forth, the lotus who
7. came forth from 'Ankhtawy, the light which dispelled the darkness (of) 'Ankhtawy, imbued with the disc, scarab who came into being!''
8. Horus the falcon, suckling, his houses shall not stink!'' Horus the child, the great, great first(-born of) Osiris! Subside, Pharaoh, foul water, bitterness (by) name!
9. There speaks before thee Thoth a million-fold(?). Great-of-retribution says to the gods of House-of-the-spirits,^u the agents (of) the gods, the prophets of the gods,
10. (and) every good spirit, 'Mayest thou give Pharaoh reverence, esteem(?) and booty(?), every good spirit, [may thy finger (?) adore the king]'
11. There speaks before thee Thoth a million-fold(?), lord of Truth, lord of the land(?) of Truth, whose name is true, when he performs millionfold(?). There speaks before thee Thoth the knowing lord,
12. lord of spells,* 'O knower-of-thy-name in begetting, in coming forth from thy mouth, there gives to thee [.....] to thee (a) chapel(?)
13. preparation to thee the pourer(?), the separator of the brothers, the dissidents of every land, Sakhmis the great, daughter of Rē^c,
14. from^v the bandaged one:^z thou shalt greet Pharaoh for ever. Raise thy face to the good!'
15. There speaks before thee the god who comes forth from the Netherworld, Imhōtep the great, son of Ptaḥ. 'Hail in truth, Osiris, comest thou forth, forth (to? the) forecourt
16. from the chest!''^a Thou art praised in 'Aleḫḫaḥ,^b mayest thou hear amid offerings, mayest thou hasten (to) its vault(?), mayest thou seize its beam(?) amid offerings!''^c
17. Radiance which protects eternity(?) [.....] who performs for thee in prediction, free from goading, with the might of Isis and Nephthys the great,
18. [behold]!—come for a dream of *Hrw*(?),^d come forth, thy soul upon high, thy body (in) the Netherworld, *setem*-priest of
19. Seker-Osiris in his woven shroud(?),^e eldest son of Ptaḥ south-of-his-wall, (for) thine is the custom of coming forth (20),^f
- (R^o) 1* rejoice, rejoice, flame which is within 'Ankhtawy (and) thy place of beauty Djedit,^g rejoice
- 2* fashioner-of-feet who is within his temple^h—I shall not be in great voice—''
- 3* in the great forecourt! Come to me, lord for eternity: mayest thou abide the festival(?) of thy fathers!
- 4* Raise thy beautiful face! May thine eye see the goodly moment(?), thou being behind me!ⁱ
- 5* This is good, a millionfold.^k

Notes

a. This opening is similar to the commencement of an 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony (cf. Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Pétoiris*, ii. 131, Inscription 82), but the resemblance may be a coincidence; other translations are possible.

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b. Taken, as in l. 5 below, as a writing of *mhst*; *mhj* (*ⲙⲏⲙⲉ*) 'fight' would require a different determinative.

c. See note f to the text above.

d. Used by extended metaphor to describe the Netherworld, third element, after heaven and earth, in the Egyptian universe.

e. Presumably a reference to the mutilation of the young god by Seth, cf. Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict*, 28 ff.

f. See note b above.

g. The reading seems secure in spite of the redundant *-t* which decorates certain examples of the word; see textual notes above.

h. This insertion seems tautologous, and may be mistaken, but it may well mark the beginning of the 'fragmentation' of the spell, a process used again in V° 4-5, in which strict sense is sacrificed to repetition and verbal effect.

i. The writing seems clear enough, but one might expect a further reference to sacred barks in this context; I can think of no suitable equivalent.

j. The phrase reminds one greatly of *Wstr m rn-f nb* as a possible title for the 'Book of Hours' (BM. 10569), cf. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, and the remarks of Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 46 (1960), 123; the latter rejects the idea that the multifarious gods and epithets of the 'Book of Hours' are to be seen syncretistically as aspects of one and the same deity (Osiris). Such an interpretation should probably be rejected here too, for the role of protagonist on the recto is played by Ra^c-Horus and other solar divinities, while on the verso this function must be ceded to Imhōtep, who is asked to appear from the Underworld. The question is, however, a complex one.

k. *ꜥꜣḥ*, Crum, 701b.

l. The meaning of *bhn/bhn* is unknown, and this translation a mere guess.

m. This sudden change from the transports of praise to a bitter curse is striking. At first reading the context resembles the imprecation of Text 16, V° 2-3 (= 17, 9-10), which is addressed to a living agency, but the text as a whole suggests that this curse is being directed at the gods, in order to secure their co-operation. From the simple evocation of the opening lines, the petitioner turns to threats. These cover the remainder of the recto. On the verso, he resorts to persuasion, representing several gods speaking to the deity, offering inducements to him to come forth. Such changes of approach are not rare in Egyptian magic.

n. For this title as a name of the planet Mars, cf.

Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 65-79; a similar astronomical term may be hidden in *Rr-Hr p/ k/* of l. 4 above, for *Hr k/ (pt)* (*ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*) is a regular name of the planet Saturn. Whether these connotations are uppermost in the writer's mind is less easy to decide; they are not supported by the rest of the text.

o. Lit. 'his back (of) Osiris'; perhaps the construction outlined in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 61, although none of the examples given antedates the Roman period.

p. Feminine, and refers to the *st mrt* above.

q. Doubtless an elevated variant of the usual *s/ Ptḥ* 'son of Ptah' which follows the name of Imhōtep. For a discussion of the Peak (*thn*) and of *rAnkhtawy*, see the Commentary, § 5 below.

r. The date corresponds to 10 July 171. It is possible that these three lines together with the date are to be understood at the end of the entire text.

s. A further example of 'fragmentation'; see note h above.

t. For *s(y)f* cf. *Wb.* iv. 114 under *sfj*.

u. These lines seem to evoke a belief that the sun-god was born in 'Ankhtawy, the necropolis of Memphis; this would certainly explain the lotus image. An identical belief seems to have been attached to the necropolis at Hermopolis Magna (*Hesrō*, the modern *Tûna el-Gebel*), cf. Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Pétosiris*, ii. 193, Inscription 126, 5, and one may suspect that the same held true for the other great religious sites of Egypt.

v. The 'houses' (*ꜣwyw*) of Horus are perhaps the galleries of the Hawk which adjoin the temple-site at North Saqqâra; see further Texts 19-23 below and the Commentary, § 4. As for the prediction that the hawk-galleries would not stink, a modern visitor might be forgiven for wishing that it had been more effective.

w. *Pi-nîkhi*, presumably a mythical locality.

x. For this and other titles of the god Thoth, see Appendix 2.

y. Possibly in the sense of the preposition *hr* used after verbs such as *hsf* 'protect' (*Wb.* iii. 336, 16).

z. For *hmjg* as a late name of Osiris cf. among others Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 642; Posener, *Première domination perse*, 4, n. a.

aa. Presumably a funerary object; the theme of the burial of Osiris is developed in the remainder of the line.

bb. For this locality (Greek *Ἀλχαι*) as a name of the

necropolis at Abydos cf. Pap. Dem. Berlin 8027, Col. 5, 5 in a litany from the late Book of the Dead.¹

cc. Apart from the general theme of the burial of Osiris which pervades the line, many of the details remain obscure, and the text is offered with reserve.

dd. A doubtful group; if the initial *Hr* is correct, one is reminded of the division of dreams into 'dreams of Horus' and 'dreams of Seth' encountered in Pap. Chester Beatty III (Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series*, 10 ff.). This division clearly lasted beyond the Middle Kingdom, as the notion of Horus as a god embodying truth in prediction reappears in a Ramesside oracular question (Černý, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 48, to be seen in the light of Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung*, 13, n. 1). The request may therefore be for a truthful dream to visit the petitioner; unfortunately the reading is not certain enough for this interesting idea to be accepted without question. The possibility of a proper name should also be sustained, in which case the preposition *n* must be translated 'to'.

ee. Lit. 'in his shroud of (the goddess) Tayit'; see textual notes above.

ff. This reconstruction has the effect of ignoring the final line, which seems to consist of a reminder to insert the remaining material from the recto; see textual notes above.

gg. The name of the necropolis of Heliopolis; cf. Text 13, 7 above.

hh. Presumably the name of a divinity or demon, as with *rh-rn-k* in V^o 12 above.

ii. It is difficult to see what *Hr* means by this interjection. It may imply that he is about to cut short an incantation which is already overlong, or that his voice is now lowered in the presence of the arcane. Such a possibility recurs in the later magical papyri, where the worshipper is instructed to lie down without speaking after finishing his prayer; such an idea may well underlie the present text.

jj. Possibly in the sense of 'close by, hard upon', but I cannot parallel this, and the reading is open to doubt.

kk. Apparently a comment on the efficacy of the spell; a similar afterthought occurs in Text 10, R^o 11, *tpyt nfrt try*. For what seems to be an adverbial use of *hh*, cf. Text 26, R^o 14 *gm-t-s hh hr(?)*.

Preliminary Remarks

Although so many of its details remain un-

solved, the position of this text in the main archive is fairly clear; it records an incantation, addressed to various gods, sometimes solar, sometimes chthonic, to appear in a dream. The would-be dreamer is *Hr*, probably *Hr* of Sebennytos, and the date is 10 July 171, before the onset of the Sixth Syrian War. It is unfortunately impossible to identify the dream, if any, which this text provoked; such points are discussed in § 3 of the Commentary below. An unexplained feature is the Memphite colouring, especially with the references to Ptaḥ, Imḥōtep, Seker-Osiris, and Nefertēm, for the ostrakon would seem to antedate the permanent arrival of *Hr* in the region of Saqqâra. One answer to this problem is to ascribe the entire text to *Hr* of Memphis, in whose hand it was written; but this too is difficult, for we know from Text 12 above that during the years before 168 the secretary was absent in Pi-peferē on the business of the god. An alternative is to attribute the text to *Hr* of Sebennytos while on an earlier visit to the area. It is of course possible that the ostrakon is a later rewriting of a much simpler text, to which many Memphite allusions were added. In this latter case the original incantation could well have been produced elsewhere.

§ 3: Texts dealing with the cult of the Ibis

TEXT 19

Height	21.1 cm.
Width	15.6 cm.
Thickness	1.1 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 7/2
Photograph	Plate XXI (R ^o , V ^o)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-116 [5384]

A large and well-preserved buff-ware ostrakon, the recto (convex) bearing twenty-five lines of script, together with the usual insertions and

¹ The name occurs also in the well-known Abydos inscription of Peftuaneith (reign of Amasis), where it seems to be applied to a sanctuary building, cf. Jelínková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 284 n. 26, where the reading is slightly different.

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erasures, and the verso, which exhibits slight traces of salt, a further nineteen lines in continuation written, as is not uncommon, upside-down to the recto. The verso shows light ribbing. The rather squat hand may possibly be that of Hor of Sebennytos.

Text: recto

1. n-drt sh tš Tb-ntr Hr (s) Hr-n-drt-fa
2. bn-lw rh rmt šm (r-)bl hr^b mdt lw-s tšy Dhwtj
3. p: ntr rn-f l-tr-shy n ht-ntr Mn-nfr
4. m-kdy Hr-Dhwtj^c hn-f. t: mdt-nfrt nty lw-w
lr-s n
5. p: hb p: by^a (n) Dhwtj p: c: p: c: p: c:
st ir n-lm-s
6. (n) p: blk cn p: by (n) Pth p: by (n) Hp^a p:
by (n) p: Rr
7. p: by (n) Sw (p: by (n) Tfn) p: by (n) Gb^a
p: by (n) Wslr p: by (n)
8. Hr p: by (n) 3st p: by (n) Nbt-ht (n: ntrw c: y
(n) Kmt) p: hb p: blk
9. p: nty lw-w dd-s^b (n) n: byw c: y n: Hp-nb-s
(n r-pr Dhwtj) [[bn-l-tr hpr in]]^j
10. dt Dhwtj hpr-f n-w snt (n) dlt mnt (bn-lw-f wš)
hr p: hb p: blk^a
11. hn-f hr lr-s smt (n) štyⁱ p: inhym hr-f
hn nry-f cwyw-(n)-
12. htp (mtw-w dlt crd nb hr n: mštwⁿ) tm nht n:
sdm-cš (n) n: hbw irm n: sdm-cš (n) p: blk
13. p: ntr rn-f lw-w lr^a krs-f. hpr-f nry smn r-hn
hst-sp 16 (n) p: it
14. (n) p: it. lr t: ht-mdt rn-s hwoš rnpt 32 r-hn
hst-sp 9t^b 1bd-4 prt sw 29^a
15. (n) n: Pr-c: w š: c: dt. hms n: rmtw c: y (n) ms
hn n: wcbw (n) Pth (l-)wn-n: w
16. dlc-mdt hn p: r-pr (n) t: wshyt irm 'Ich-ms
(s) P: dl-Nfr-tm^a
17. p: rd (n) Pr-c: (l-)wn-n: šn n ht-ntr.
cš n: shw (n) Pth n: gy-(n)-dlc-mdt.
18. hb-w (n) hty^a r Rr-kd r-db: smn p: hp (n)
mdt nty tšy nry p: snt
19. wn-n: smn nht. in-w n: sdm-cš (n) n: hbw (r)
Mn-nfr [[1bd-4 prt rky]]

20. irm n: sdm-cš (n) p: blk (r) t: wshyt. štf^a
[] nhm-w^a
21. Wn-nfr^a (s) Hp-l-tr-dl-s (p: l-tr p: mštw^a)
irm Hr-gmy^a irm Nfr-tm-l-tr-dl-s irm D-hr-
22. p: trš^a irm Hr (s) Hns-Dhwtj irm Hr (s)
Hp-l-tr-dl-s r s 6.^b tšy-w-s
23. (r) p: dth crd-w-s (n) p: smr.^a dl-w in-w n:
mštw
24. (n) n: cwyw-(n)-htp (n) p: hb n: cwyw-(n)-htp
25. (n) p: blk (n) t: mtrt l-tr-hr n: wcbw.

Text: verso

1. šsp Hr-Hp p: hm-ntr hms (n) c^a
2. n: mštw *na^b in-f-s (r) nry-f cwyw
3. lr p: 25 wcb kd-f (n) kdy nty lw ht-f^a
sh (r) hry
4. sh-w-s r p: šwry^a n hst-sp 10t.
hn-w-s l-tr-hr n^a n: wcbw
5. stp wcb rnpt s 3 lw-w nhty mtw-w šn t: hrt irm
6. p: cš-shn (n) p: hb mtw-w ty (r) Hp-nb-s tn nb
mtw(w) lr
7. p: šn (n) n: ntrw (n) p: cwy-(n)-hrry (n) p:
ntr nty lw-w gm-f hr p: tr
8. mtw-w^a dl-w mnt^a hr-f wr ntr (n) wrt mgt.^a
hpr sp (n)
9. dlt htp p: hb p: nty lw-w lr-f^a (n) wrt rnpt
lw-s krp^j 1s^a
10. mtw-w thm p: mšcⁱ (n) Pr-Wslr-Hp (r)^a
Hp-nb-s mtw-w
11. tšy-c^k p: hb p: blk (r) p: y-f cwy-(n)-htp p:
wcbⁿ
12. (n) hrt-f^a m-s: s mtw-w^b n: mštw (n) n:
cwyw-(n)-htp (n) p: hb
13. n: cwyw (n) p: blk (n) wrt dnyte mtw-s tbc t:
hny^r (n)
14. p: wcb s 3 mtw-w dlt-s n-drt n: wnw^a (n) t:
wshyt (n)
15. Pr-Wslr-Hp mtw n: wcbw lp hr^a p: swt^a
(tn 2 n ntr) hd 1^a
16. wš p: swt t: mnt hn-f^w tn 1^a
17. p: y-s gns^a tn 2^a r hd 1 hd 1
18. lr p: y-f tw: h^a 1 mtw-f hpr
19. p: dmd n n: rmtw nty dlt htp.

Notes: recto

a. Another phonetic writing of *Hr-nd-it-f*, cf. Text 18, R° 4.

b. Presumably an idiomatic phrase meaning 'lapse from, ignore'.

c. This group is unclear, and its reading far from certain.

d. The palimpsest seems to have been *pṛ btk*; although the text word *by* is common in the meaning 'soul' (𓂏𓂏), a similar word is also found in the Memphite necropolis to designate the priestly masons employed in the excavation of galleries; as such it is common in the stelae of the Serapeum (cf. the published examples in Bresciani, *Nuovi testi demotici dal Serapeo di Menfi*, in *Studi in honore di G. Botti*, Rome, 1967) and corresponds to hieroglyphic 𓂏𓂏 (𓂏𓂏) (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 970). The divine determinative tends towards the first reading, but this is not certain. It is unlikely, however, that all the divinities mentioned possessed masons and galleries at Saqqāra.

e. Not the same writing as in ll. 21 and 22 below; if the initial stroke be assigned to *by* (cf. the writing before *Nbt-ht* below), 'Imn would be a possible reading.

f. *t* is probably to be rejected, as none of the other goddesses has a feminine *by*.

g. The final sign is presumably the goose commonly found as ideogram in this name.

h. Although this phrase commonly introduces accounts of dreams, the present context seems to exclude any notion of this kind.

i. *t* seems to have been supraposed here, although its purpose escapes me.

j. These words may have been considered erased by the scribe; certainly they seem very awkward as they stand.

k. The scribe seems to have added the group *Hr* at the end of this word.

l. Reading offered with the greatest reserve; the reading *fty* is based on Text 23, R° 14; an alternative *fty* (in spite of similar writings in the stelae of the Mothers of the Apis) is more doubtful. The two words seem to overlap rather uncomfortably, and it may be that one is in fact a palimpsest. The whole is therefore extremely obscure.

m. Context, and the parallel texts, suggest this reading rather than *knhy*, cf. *contra*, Text 10, R° 2.

n. The reading *ft* (for which see Text 23, V° 22) is excluded by the sense.

o. This writing of the infinitive occurs commonly in these ibis-texts. For other remarkable forms of this verb, cf. note j to Text 2, R° 7, p. 16 above.

p. A rather individual writing: the numeral is written vertically instead of at its usual slope, and the following *t* has a supralinear stroke, perhaps borrowed inadvertently from the 6 in the line above. The whole therefore seems very dubious, but it is difficult to suggest another reading. A parallel is to be seen in Text 25, 7 below.

q. The season has been rather cramped, but the final curved sign, which distinguishes *pṛt* from *fmw* (Text 1, 2, note g, p. 8) is fairly clear. The reading is confirmed by the admittedly faint writing at the end of l. 19.

r. Abbreviated almost to resemble *nty tw*.

s. Were it not for the lotus determinative, *Pṛ-hm-ntr-Itm* would be a very admissible reading; so much so, that one wonders whether it is not the true one.

t. See note r to Text 2, R° 11, p. 17 above.

u. See the example in Text 23, V° 17.

v. I have taken this as a metathesis, perhaps dialectal, of the common *ft* (𓂏𓂏, Crum, 611a).

w. It is yet again remarkable that the most important passage should be the most obscured; the missing traces suggest *fm* or the like, but without conviction. *nḥm-w* is slightly clearer.

x. The scribe seems first to have written *Hnsw*, but altered this. If this person is the same as the Onnophris τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σαραπίου (βιοβοσκός) of UPZ 119, 17 (August 156 B.C.), he will have survived his ordeal, but there is no proof of this identification.

y. *mft* is inserted in a bold hand, but the preceding signs are faint, and may not have been intended as read.

z. Obscure: possibly the Ἀρχῆμις of Preisigke, 58, but the final signs are difficult to understand.

aa. The final element is perhaps a metathesis from *dfr* (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 658), and may refer to the flamingo (note in Crum, 432b, cf. the hieroglyph 𓂏 G27). Indeed, in many of the compound names with *D-hr*, the second element is the name of an animal, presumably sacred, or the name of a divinity (*D-hr-pṛ-hb*, *D-hr-pṛ-btk*, *D-hr-pṛ-ccn*, *D-hr-pṛ-tml*, *D-hr-bs*; Preisigke adds, among others, Τεββάμφι, Τεβεφθίμις, and Τεφφαῖος). The first element may mean 'carefree' or the like (Crum, 648a); the transliteration *dd-hr* is therefore misleading, and the fact that hieroglyphic texts show 𓂏 as often as 𓂏 suggests that the writing *dd* is a phonetic one (Coptic *xe-*). See also notes to Text 23, R° 10 and Text 33, 9, pp. 107, below.

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bb. This fortunate total gives the clue to the distribution of the patronymics: the initial name is so qualified, as being an important personage, and father's names are allotted to the common name Hor. Whether the two men *Hp-l-tr-dt-s* are identical is impossible to say.

cc. An unknown word, clearly an instrument of confining, and possibly connected with the verb *mr* (ⲙⲟⲣⲣ) 'bind'.

Notes: verso

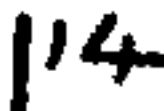
a. A very dispiriting end to an opening line: *hm-ntr* seems more plausible than *l-tr*, and *hms* in its meaning 'be in session' is familiar from the rules of the priestly guilds (cf. de Cenival, *Associations religieuses*, i. 21). *rn* is more problematic, although the reading seems clear enough, and it is difficult to decide whether it is being used to qualify *hms*, or adverbially to *isp*; the former is perhaps the less tortuous alternative.

b. See note k to Text 2, R° 7, p. 16 above.

c. A remarkably difficult group of words; the first phrase recurs in Text 22, R° 7-8 in a similar context, and the phrase *tr-kdy* 'go round, review' is attested (cf. *Demotic Chronicle*, 2, 11, where Spiegelberg compares the Coptic ⲡⲏⲛⲟⲩ; for a similar use of *kdy* alone cf. the same author in *ZAS* 51 (1913), 137, on *ZAS* 50 (1912), 32). The following word appears to be a cognate, perhaps to strengthen the meaning; the whole phrase might therefore be translated 'pass in review, revolve (in deliberation)' or the like.¹ The following signs are more obscure; the reading chosen here seems to demand an ellipsed object, and the reading *ht-f* is open to some doubt, although other readings (e.g. *sn-f*) do not inspire confidence. It is perhaps better, therefore, to treat the whole as unread.

d. *mwry* is perhaps also possible; I cannot identify the word, and the translation offered below is a mere guess.

e. A rare example in our texts of this preposition followed by the genitival particle (ⲉⲓⲡⲏ-).

f. The same strange syntax in Text 21, R° 16; short of assuming a 'conjunctive *sdm-f*', which seems very unlikely, it would seem necessary to take the group  as a writing of the infinitive *dl*; the alternative, to regard *mtw-w* (ⲙⲧⲧⲱ) as a possessive qualifying *tr*, is scarcely convincing. For the syntax cf. Nims, *JEA* 24 (1938), 77.

g. Presumably the abstract noun from *mn* (not in Crum). The natural meaning would be 'permanence', etc., but its use in our texts seems to approach the modern 'efficiency'; hence the translation 'regularity' offered below.

h. This word, which closely resembles *mnt* except for the tick applied to the second sign, is clearly of importance. If read correctly, it would seem to be the forerunner of Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲓ (Crum, 161b) with reference to the pottery jars which contained the mummies of the birds (*JEA* 52 (1966), pl. II, 4). One may suspect a connection with the *mgwt* 'Sänfte, Bähre' of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 183.

i. Another anomalous writing of this verb; see note to *tr* in R° 13 above.

j. See Text 2, R° 10; the entire phrase corresponds to (n) *wr sp* in Text 21, but the use of *tw-s* shows that the phrase refers to *rnpt*. The translation below is tentative.

k. Possibly a writing of *ys* 'hasten', but uncertain.

l. Here clearly in the meaning 'people'; see note to Text 2, V° 12, p. 20 above. For the use of *thm* in the regulations for a priestly guild, cf. Pap. Dem. Lille 29, 9 (Spiegelberg, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille*, 63; de Cenival, *Associations*, i. 5).

m. Restored from Text 21, V° 12.

n. The plural stroke seems to be redundant.

o. This group resembles the following *m-s* quite disconcertingly even in the parallel texts, but the present reading seems more plausible.

p. Text 21, V° 15 inserts *dl* at this point, and its omission here is presumably accidental.

q. An unknown word, perhaps corresponding to Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲉ = ⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲩ (Crum, 773b); see note to the translation below.

r. Reminiscent of the word in Text 8, R° 13, and the underlying root *hn(r)* may be the same for both. The translation is again approximate.

s. Distinguished in this hand from *hmt* 'wife' (Text 15, R° 6) by the curved -n- before the determinative.

t. The parallel texts confirm this reading, although the present example resembles the *hnr* of Text 10, R° 10.

u. Confirmed by the determinative, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 418; the meaning here is presumably that of the bandaging of the mummified birds, with associated ideas, and the word is the causative of the older *wf* (*Wb.* i. 378) 'embalm'.

¹ It is very tempting to wonder whether the significance is not 'appoint in rotation'; this would fit the passage in Text 22 well, but more evidence is surely needed before assuming such an interesting procedure for our ibis-cult.

v. This group may equally stand for *mtw*, or may even have been erased.

w. The scribe seems also to have begun *hn* above the line, but decided to write the word over the palimpsest.

x. This word also in Text 21, V^o 7, but I am unable to identify it. The context in both cases suggests that the word represents a reduced payment or deduction imposed upon inefficient burial. The word *hns* (or *gns*, as regularly spelt in these texts) is familiar from the rules of the cult-guilds in its meaning 'fine', but this identification is offered with all reserve.

y. The fraction is slightly different from the numeral 2 above; the reading, which is tentative, is based on the need to provide a balance to the $1\frac{1}{2}$ immediately beforehand, but it is offered with great reserve.¹

z. This looks like another financial term; the common *twyt* 'pledge' is excluded by its gender. Another possibility, which I have tentatively followed below, is to see the word as the ancestor of *εἰσαγ* (Crum, 88a), as the word *wt* quoted in *Wb.* i. 166 (cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 55) is of the wrong gender, and philologically rather remote.

Translation: recto

1. From the scribe of the nome of Sebennytos, Hor son of Harendjiōtef.^a
2. No man shall be able to lapse from a matter which concerns Thoth,
3. the god in person who holds sway in the temple of Memphis,^b
4. and likewise Harthoth(?) within it.^c The benefit which is performed for
5. the Ibis, the soul^d of Thoth, the three times great,^e is made
6. (for) the Hawk also, the soul of Ptaḥ, the soul of Apis(?),^f the soul of Prē,^g
7. the soul of Shu, (the soul of Tefnut), the soul of Geb, the soul of Osiris, the soul of
8. Horus, the soul of Isis, the soul of Nephthys, (the great gods (of) Egypt), the Ibis (and) the Hawk.

¹ During the season of 1971/2 at Saqqāra, the author was allowed, through the goodness of Professor E. Edel and of the Inspector of Antiquities, Dr. 'A. el-Khouli, to read through several ostraca discovered by the former at North

9. That which was spoken to the great souls of Hepnēbes^h (in the chapel of Thoth):^a

10. 'Thoth has caused the habit to occur to them of imparting regularity (and it shall not fail) into the Ibis (and) the Hawk

11. within it:ⁱ for it affects(?) likewise the excavation(?) of the courtyard which contains him^j within his houses of

12. rest: (and all earnestness is to be imparted into the inspectors^k) not to trust the servants (of) the ibises and the servants (of) the Hawk

13. the god in person, when they perform his burial'.^l

It happened that this lasted until Year 16 of the father

14. (of) the father.^m (But) the said utterance was abused (for) 32 years, up to Year 9, Pharmuthi, day 29

15. (of) the Pharaohs for ever.ⁿ The elders among the priests (of) Ptaḥ who

16. recorded within the chapel held session (in) the forecourt^o together with^p 'Aḥmosi (son of) Petineftēm,^q

17. the agent (of) Pharaoh, who was controller of the temple.^r The scribes (of) Ptaḥ read out the documents.

18. They sent in haste to Alexandria to determine the law (of) the matter which concerned these things habitually

19. (and) which was established for ever. They brought the servants (of) the ibises (to) Memphis [in Pharmuthi, day 30]^s

20. together with the servants (of) the Hawk (to) the forecourt. Guilty [.....]. They seized(?)

21. Onnofri (son of) Hapertais (who made the inspection), and Harkhēmi and Neftēm-ertais and Djeḥe-

22. petrōsh and Hor (son of) Khensthoth and

Saqqāra; in one of these, an accounts list, a fraction occurs, similar to the present, which by dead reckoning should correspond to $\frac{1}{2}$. I am grateful to have been given this opportunity.

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- Hor (son of) Hapertais, making six men.
They took them (to)
23. the prison (and) secured them (in) the stocks(?).
They caused the inspectors to be brought
24. (of) the houses of rest (of) the Ibis (and) the houses of rest
25. (of) the Hawk openly before the priests.

Translation: verso

1. Kharchapi, the priest in session (in) splendour(?)
2. received *the said* inspectors (and) took them to his house.
3. The 25 priests^b passed in review the matter whose content^c is written below,^d
4. (and) they wrote it into the regulation(?) for Year 10.^e
They commanded in the presence of the priests
5. to choose three priests (of the) year, who are reliable, and who shall direct the sustenance and
6. the fortune (of) the Ibis. They are to come (to) Hepnēbes (at) every counting,^f and shall perform
7. the investigation (of) the gods^g (in) the house of waiting^h (of) the god which they shall find at the time,
8. and they are to impart regularity into it,ⁱ one god (in) one vessel. (When) the occasion occurs
9. (of) the burial of the Ibis which is performed in one completed^j year swiftly (?),
10. they shall assemble the people of the Serapeum (at) Hepnēbes, and they shall
11. lead in procession^k the Ibis (and) the Hawk to his house of rest, the appropriate
12. priest in attendance. They are to (place) the inspectors (of) the houses of rest (of) the Ibis
13. (and) the houses (of) the Hawk (in) one chest,^l which^m is sealed (in) the storeroom (?) (of)

14. the three priests and they shall give it into the hand of the pastophoroi (of) the fore-court (of)
15. the Serapeum. The priests are also to assess for the bandaging (two payments of the god) one *hd*ⁿ
16. apart from the bandaging: regularity in this, 1½ payments:
17. its^o fine(?), ¾ payment, making 1½ *hd*:
18. its^p linen(?) makes ½ *hd*: and this becomes
19. the total for the men who perform the burial.

Notes: recto

a. The Sebennyte Hor, apparently now resident in Memphis.

b. This is probably no more than a metaphoric statement of the power of the god, rather than a distinct reference to a cult-chapel in the main temple of Ptah, where Thoth would be a σύνναος θεός; but the latter is possible, as we know nothing of the temple of Ptah at this period.

c. This may be a reference to the Memphite Hor, the petition-writer, 'who is within it (Memphis)'. But the context is not at all certain.

d. See note to the text at this point.

e. See notes to Text 2, V^o 15, p. 20 above.

f. Amūn may perhaps be read.

g. See topographical commentary below, p. 147.

h. I have omitted the words at the end of the line: see text note.

i. Presumably the chapel.

j. See topographical commentary, and the introduction to Text 6.

k. These officers are familiar from the Prinz-Joachim Ostraca (Preisigke-Spiegelberg, op. cit. 14, n. 5); see § 4 of the Commentary below.

l. The context here leaves little doubt that we are dealing with a royal name, and it would be quite natural to assume that this is the grandfather of the reigning king. This assumption is strengthened when we read in Pap. Tebtunis 62, ll. 29, 36, and 315, of the πάππος τοῦ βασιλέως (Grenfell, Hunt, Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, i. 234-51 and 237 ff.). The date seems to be 119/118 B.C., and the king therefore Euergetes II; the πάππος is thence Philopator, who is also the πρόπαππος of the following papyrus (ibid. 252), written

under Soter II. A similar use under Philometor is therefore quite possible; less clear is the reason for its use, unless this lies in an attempt, both by Philometor and later by his brother, to stress their origins in the legitimate line.¹ For the plural, *n/ ityw (n) Pr-r/*, cf. Text 26, R° 6.

Year 16 of Philopator corresponds to 207/6.

m. The ninth year of Philometor fell in 173/2, and the date on this assumption would be 31 May 172. Hor's statement that thirty-two years had elapsed between the two dates must therefore be taken, as often in Egyptian calculations, as an *exclusive* estimate; thirty-two whole years intervene between the two dates (204-173).² Historically this is most interesting, for within these thirty-two years of abuse falls the entire reign of Epiphanes, with the adulations of the Rosetta Stone, and the evidence is clear that by the ninth year of Philometor the officials of the ibis-cult were obliged to send to Alexandria to ascertain what the law itself required.

The nature of 'the Pharaohs' is also interesting. The epithet *šr dt* implies that they were still on the throne when the text was drafted. The early years of Philometor were largely dependent upon his mother, Cleopatra I, whose death occurred shortly before the marriage of the young king (Wilcken, *Archiv für Pap.* 3 (1906), 366). This latter event may have been brought forward, before the king's maturity, because of the impending Seleucid threat (A. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, 118). The death of Cleopatra I, fixed by Skeat between *8 April and 14 October 176 (*JEA* 21 (1935), 263; also Hintze, *Archiv Orientaln.* 20 (1952), 102-4) can be dated yet more closely: on 8 April 176 both Philometor and his mother are still named (Pap. BM. 10518), but a Cairo papyrus of 17 May (Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich, 1962), 140), and Pap. BM. 10726 of 14 September 176 name Philometor alone. The marriage of Philometor to his sister, Cleopatra II, took place before 15 April 175 (Pap. BM. 10589; Shore and Smith, *JEA* 45 (1959), 55, note b). Pap. Berlin 3112 of 22 February of the same year

¹ A similar expression, *p/ it n Pr-r/*, occurs in the inscriptions from the baboon-galleries at Saqqāra. It would hardly be relevant here to express curiosity about the lack of kinship terms in all stages of the Egyptian language, when one's knowledge of Egyptian practice, especially litigious, leads one to place great emphasis on family relationships. The fact remains, however, that in the Inscription of Mose kinship terms are very loosely employed (Gardiner, *Mes*, 12, n. 6). The occasional agnate term (Smith in *JEA* 44 (1958), 122) indicates that there may have been many such terms hidden

mentions the king alone, and the marriage, if already celebrated, would have been a very recent event; cf. also Oates in *Études de papyrologie*, 9 (1964), 71-2; the official cult-titles of the earlier Ptolemies were re-organized at this period, in the optimism engendered by the oncoming trial of strength with the Seleucids. The 'Pharaohs' are therefore Philometor and his sister-wife.³

n. L. 19 implies that this court was held in Memphis; the 'forecourt' is therefore probably that of the temple of Ptah. Note the similar writing in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 895, l. 1 (biography of 'Anemho) and the fine metaphor in Menkerēt (ibid. 898) *šm r t/ wšhyt n t/ Dwt*, with its connotations of judgement.

o. An idiom reminiscent of Greek ἄλλως τε καί, introducing what is in fact the most important element; the implication is presumably that Ἀἰμοσί was president at the session.

p. 'Phentatūm' is perhaps possible.

q. This title (for the connotations of *šm* see note *d* to Text 15, R° 5, p. 59 above) probably corresponds to the Royal ἐπιστάτης of Bevan, 181, who surveyed the affairs of the temple on behalf of the king (Oertel's doubts quoted by Bevan, loc. cit., that the office was a royal appointment seem answered here by the additional epithet *p/ rd n Pr-r/* applied to the holder). The title is to be carefully distinguished from that of λεσώνης, *mr-šm*, which was a religious function as head of the body of priests, even if, as in Pap. Rylands IX and in the period discussed here, he received a government stipend. In Text 22, R° 7 both officers appear together. These questions are discussed in § 4 of the Commentary below.

r. Perhaps erased; the date is 1 June 172.

s. See note to the text.

t. In the legal sense of τάντε (Crum, 1912).

Notes: verso

a. Text 2, R° 7, note, p. 16 above.

b. In Text 21, R° 11 these are distinguished as *p/ 25 wrb nty mnk mdt*, the βουλευτοὶ λεπεῖς and *wrbw* in the spoken language; not of course that the lack of a word must mean the lack of its subject.

² With this proviso, these figures provide independent confirmation of our dating to Philometor, for there is no other king in the Ptolemaic dynasty whose ninth year falls thirty-two years after the sixteenth of his grandfather.

³ The dating of Greek graffito Philae, no. 11 (Bernand, op. cit. 118 ff.), written in the short interval between the death of Cleopatra I and the marriage, should be revised from the 172 of Bernand to the winter of 176/5.

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nd-ht of the Tanis and Canopus Stelae. In the Ptolemaic period, and in all probability earlier, five priests were chosen from each phyle of the priesthood; after the introduction of a fifth phyle in 237, the executive council numbered 25 in place of the previous 20 (cf. Tanis Stela, 31). The present texts show this system still in use early in the reign of Philometor (cf. Bevan, 179-80). See further Commentary § 4 below.

c. See textual note above.

d. An alternative reading of *sh(n)hry* as 'publicscribe' (cf. *ἐν ἀγυῖα* of Greek contracts such as Pap. Oxyrh. 261 and 266) is perhaps less likely in the present text.

e. Doubtless a book of minutes and resolutions kept by the year.

f. Perhaps a yearly census of the sacred ibises and hawks: see Commentary below.

g. The mummified birds, 'whose salvation has occurred' (*Mizraim*, 1 (1933), 57).

h. Familiar from 'Onkhsheshonqy (IV, 6 = Glanville, n. 49) as the title of a prison, but this is hardly appropriate in the present context. From the fact that dead birds are clearly to be stored there, and that provision is made for different 'houses' to be in use at different times, it is tempting (if rash) to see in the place the name given to the side galleries, opening from the communicating corridor, in which the birds, banded and stored in their jars, were stacked. When full a gallery would be sealed, and a new one occupied (cf. Plan in *JEA* 52 (1966), 4). The similar group in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 888 is to be read *st wry*, and is not relevant to our discussion.

i. Presumably the gallery.

j. Literally 'revealed'; see textual note above.

k. The idiom, *try-ck*, is used in both the Serapeum and the Mother of the Apis stelae to denote the funeral cortège and the accompanying ceremonies.

l. This rather ludicrous picture may imply that a papyrus, inscribed with the names of those authorized to conduct the funeral rites (we may even conjecture that it began **wn n: rmtw nty try-ck p: hb p: blk* + date, or the like) was enclosed in the chest, which was sealed to prevent forgery.

m. Possibly *mtw-s* is a phonetic writing for *nty tw-s*; *tbr* is Qualitative.

n. For the financial arrangements of this and the parallel text, see Commentary below.

¹ It does appear, however, that considerable native revolts occurred, at least in Upper Egypt, after the sixteenth year of Philopator (Bevan, 239; Skeat, *JEA* 59, 169); if the administration of the ibis-cult had suffered from restlessness among

o. The regularity.

p. The bandaging.

Preliminary Remarks

This text in essence records the minutes of a session of the Council of the ibis-cult held in the temple of Ptah at Memphis on 1 June 172 B.C. At this meeting Hor of Sebennytyos may have been present as scribe. The history of the cult is related: efficiency and order had prevailed until about the year 205 B.C., whereupon, for a reason not stated, abuses had set in.¹ As a result of the hearing, six persons are condemned and imprisoned, and a series of regulations drawn up to restore order into the burial of the sacred birds, and to lessen the risk of corruption and fraud. A scale of payments for the men employed in the cult is instituted.

TEXT 20

Height	12.6 cm.
Width	14.8 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm. (ave.)
Munsell	5 YR 7/4
Photograph	Plate XXII
Facsimile	Plate XXIIA
Excavator's no.	G7-40 [469]

This buff-ware ostrakon was part of the original group discovered by Emery. The recto, the only face inscribed, is faded and in parts desurfaced. The verso is ribbed.

Text

x+	1. [	] <i>Pr-Wstr-Hp^a</i>
	2. [	] (traces)
	3. [	] <i>tw-f dd n-t mdt</i> [
	4.] <i>dt mnt hr p: hb p: blk</i> [
	5.] <i>p: [</i>	] <i>p: by (n) Wstr p: ntr c: p:</i>
		<i>by (n) Hr p: hrd (n) 3st^b</i>

the local population, it is natural that Hor would not mention this. Further details are discussed in § 4 of the Commentary below.

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6. *p* by (n) *Nbt-ht t* *snt* (n) *3st* (mtw-s *hr*)
n: *twtw* (n) *Wslr* [
7.] *rswt*^a by *hr-s p* *wih* (n) *3st* [
8.] *Mhy dt-i-s* (r-db) [
9.] *ht-ntr p* *hb nb htp n* *twtw* [
10.]^a *Mn-nfr hn p* *yf hr* [
11.] *Wslr-Hp p* *r* *p* *r* [
12.] (traces and insertion)
13.] *l-tr-hr* [
(other lines may be lost)

Notes

- a. The determinative enables the restoration of the first sign.
- b. The syntax is doubtful here. The word *blk* seems to have been inserted above the middle of the line.
- c. Cf. l. 9.
- d. Possibly a writing of *R-stw*, as in Text 13.
- e. A house-determinative is visible before this word.
- f. These final signs may represent the name *D-hr*.

Translation

- x+ 1.] Serapeum
2.] (traces)
3.] he said to me a matter
[.....
4.] impart regularity into the Ibis
(and) the Hawk [.....
5.] the soul (of) Osiris the
great god, the soul (of) Horus the child
(of) Isis,
6. the soul (of) Nephthys the sister (of)
Isis (and who is over (?)) the statues^a
(of) Osiris [.....
7.] dream (?)^b the inter-
pretation^c (of) Isis [.....
8.] Lower Egypt(?). I gave it (be-
cause of)
9.] temple of the Ibis, lord of con-
tentment, the statues(?) [.....
10. Memphis within its plundering^d
[.....
11. Osorapis the twice great
..... [.....

12. (traces) [.....
.....
13. before the ibises
[.....

Notes

- a. Or possibly 'dd-pillars (?)', Erichsen, *Glossar*, 617.
- b. Or possibly 'necropolis'.
- c. Text 9, V^o 7.
- d. One is tempted to connect this reference with the invasion of Antiochus, but there is no ground for this, and most of the ibis-texts in the present section seem to antedate the Syrian War.

Preliminary Remarks

This fragmentary text bears such close similarities to the preceding that it would appear to be some form of recension of the same.

TEXT 21

Height	18.2 cm.
Width	11.6 cm.
Thickness	1.1 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate XXIII
Facsimile	Plate XXIIIA
Excavator's no.	H6-511 [4134]

This buff-ware ostrakon was found together with Texts 6 and 10 in the sand above the mud-brick courtyard (Emery, January 1970). The effects of fading and sand erosion, particularly on the convex recto, and the porosity of the sherd made decipherment almost impossible until the discovery of Text 19. The recto bears eighteen lines, probably in the same hand as that of 19, while a further twenty-one lines complete the verso. Central parts of some lines on the recto are lost. Much of the notes to Text 19 may also serve as commentary for the present document.

M

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Text: recto

1. *wc mkmk t-lr-hr^a n: wcbw (n) Dhwtj []^b*
irm
2. *n: ntrw nty htp irm-f n-drt sh is Tb-ntr Hr*
(s) [Hr-nd-lt-f]^c
3. *tw-l hn ht-ntr^d [] tw-l hr*
ht[-mdt]
4. *Dhwtj t: nty tw-f dd's []*
hr nfr prys
5. *sbtj t-lr-hr-l dd smn p: nty nfr n-lm-s ht*
6. *t: mdt ph p: hb (n) hty-f^e dlt mnt*
7. *hr-f n Pr-wcb-nb-s tw-w krs-f (n) n: cwyw-(n)-*
8. *htp nty hr p: dw. smn-s Dhwtj (Mn-nfr)*
bn-tw-s
9. *wš. dl n: rmtw hpr sdj trm t: knbt^f*
10. *(n) ht-ntr Mn-nfr hit-sp 8t tpy iht sw []*
r-hn (hit-sp 8t tpy iht sw 17).^g hn-s
11. *p: 25 wcb nty mnk mdt []^h stp*
12. *wcb s 3 r šn p: šš-shn (n) p: hb p: blk wc*
13. *tn ššr-mtw-fⁱ ty (r) Pr-wcb-nb-s^j*
14. *tn 3^k mtw-f mš^l t: wcbt (n) p: hb*
15. *t: wcbt (n) p: blk p: ntr rn-f (nty tw-f gm-f)^m*
16. *hr p: tr mtw-f dltⁿ*
17. *mnt hr p: hb*
18. *wc ntr (n) wct mgt.*

Text: verso

1. *mtw-f tp irm n: sdm-šš (n) n: hbw*
2. *n: sdm-šš (n) p: blk hr tr swt*
3. *nty tw-w dlt-s tn 2 n p: ntr. hpr-f*
4. *bn-tw rmt gm hsy (n) dlt krs*
5. *p: hb p: blk mtw p: swt*
6. *mnt r-s^o try-s ph(t)^p*
7. *tn I (wš hn t: mnt) prys gns^q tn 1*
8. *r hđ I hđ 1 mtw p: sp hpr wbs r:*
9. *p: inhy hr p: hb p: blk*
10. *hpr sp (n) dlt htp p: hb nty tw-w tr-f*
11. *(n) wct rnpt (n) wc sp. tn ššr-mtw-w*
12. *thm p: mšc (n) Pr-Wštr-Hp r*
13. *Pr-wcb-nb-s mtw-w try-ck p: hb*
14. *p: blk (r) nry-f cwyw-(n)-htp (n) mtr*
15. *p: wcb (n) hrt-f m-s^rs mtw-w dlt*
16. *p: mšt (n) wct dnyt mtw-w*

17. *tbr-s^s (n) t: hny (n) p: wcb*
18. *mtw-w dlt-s (n) n: wnw*
19. *(n) Pr-Wštr-Hp*
20. *mtw-w smn-*
21. *s.*

Notes

- a. Restored from the writing in l. 5 below; the writing *t-hr* seems to be confined to Text 1.
- b. Presumably a title of the god stood here.
- c. It must be admitted that it is difficult to reconcile this restoration with the traces, which may equally suit *nty hr Mn-nfr.
- d. The usual absence of article in such expressions: Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, § 46.
- e. Cf. Text 16, R^o 2; 17, 2-3.
- f. Rather a bold restoration, although it would suit the context well.
- g. Much of the eye of faith has been required to determine these dates, by dampening the ostrakon, and they do not appear in the photograph.
- h. One may perhaps restore *n r-pr Dhwtj or the like.
- i. The singular refers grammatically to (p:) wcb s 3, although the sense is plural.
- j. Largely restored from V^o 13.
- k. The word is nowhere else feminine; the -t may therefore be redundant here. A similar example will be seen in Text 33, 6 below.
- l. Very faint in the original, and restored from Text 19, R^o 21; šn, which is used in the parallel text, does not seem to fit the traces.
- m. The scribe seems first to have written mtry.
- n. See note to Text 19, V^o 8, p. 76 above.
- o. n-lm-s is perhaps possible.
- p. I am unable to identify this word: a connection with nwer (Crum, 283a) seems tenuous. The context suggests a translation 'reward, bonus', or the like.
- q. See Text 19, V^o 17.
- r. At this distance from the grammatical subject the natural number seems to have emerged; see note i above.
- s. The traces resemble *hy-s; tbr is obtained from Text 19, V^o 13.

Translation: recto

1. A memorandum^a before the priests (of) Thoth [.....] and

2. the gods who rest with him,^b from the scribe of the nome of Sebennytos, Hor (son of) Harendjiōtef(?).
3. 'I approached the temple [.....], I being charged with the utterance
4. (of) Thoth, which he spoke [.....], for excellent was its
5. preparation in my sight, namely, to establish that which is beneficial to him, namely,
6. the matter which concerns the Ibis (in) his heart: to impart regularity
7. into him in Pi-wa'b-nēbes^c when they bury him (in) the houses of
8. rest which are upon the mountain.^d It was established by Thoth ((in) Memphis), it shall not
9. fail. The men caused a debate(?) to take place with the council^e
10. (of) the temple of Memphis in Year 8, Thoth, day [.....] through to (Year 8, Thoth, day 17).^f It was commanded by
11. the 25 priests who conclude affairs [.....] to choose
12. three priests to investigate the fortune (of) the Ibis (and) the Hawk: one
13. payment until they^h come (to) Pi-wa'b-nēbes,
14. three payments when they inspect(?) the sanctuaryⁱ (of) the Ibis
15. (and) the sanctuary (of) the Hawk, the god in person, (which^j they shall find)
16. at the time, and impart
17. regularity into the Ibis,
18. one god (in) one vessel.
4. no man experiences slackness (in) performing the burial
5. of the Ibis (and) the Hawk, and the bandaging:
6. regularity within it, its *pht(t)*^k is
7. one payment: (failure in the regularity), its fine (?) is $\frac{1}{2}$ payment,
8. making $1\frac{1}{2}$ *hd*: and the rest occurs before the gate (?) of
9. the courtyard containing the Ibis (and) the Hawk,
10. (when) the occasion (of) the burial of the Ibis happens which they shall perform
11. (in) one year (at) one time; a payment until they
12. assemble the people (of) the Serapeum at
13. Pi-wa'b-nēbes and lead in procession the Ibis
14. (and) the Hawk to his houses of rest (in) contentment,
15. the appropriate priest in attendance,^l and they are to place
16. the inspection^m (in) one chest, and
17. seal it (in) the storeroom (of) the priest,ⁿ
18. and give it (to) the pastophoroi
19. (of) the Serapeum,
20. and establish 21. it^o.

Notes

a. Cf. the opening of Text 1.

b. The other sacred animal cults of the necropolis: the hawk, the baboon, and Isis, Mother of the Apis, who share the temple terrace by the galleries (*JEA* 57 (1971), 3 ff., pl. 14).

c. 'Abaton-of-her-lord': a place-name not elsewhere mentioned in our texts, but apparently the site of the ibis- and hawk-galleries, and thus immediately to the south of Hepnēbes. See Commentary § 4 below.

d. i.e. which are cut into the limestone cliffs (*gabal*) behind the temple buildings (*JEA* 56 (1970), pl. 18).

e. The standard deliberative and executive council, whose roots extend far back into Pharaonic times, even to the Old Kingdom (Pirenne, *Histoire des Institutions*, ii. 293 f.). Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1934-1935), iii (Cairo, 1939), 36-9, gives

Translation: verso

1. They shall (also) assess with the servants (of) the ibises
2. (and) the servants (of) the Hawk concerning the performance of the bandaging,
3. what they shall pay, (namely) two payments of the god. (If) it happens (that)

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archaeological evidence for meetings. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159-203, offers the information of written sources for the same locality, and Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes* (Leipzig, 1905), 32-8 discusses the nature and function of the great *knwt* of a slightly earlier period. See Commentary below.

f. On the assumption that the year date is that of Philometor, the period would cover October 174, through to the 23rd of the month. This would rather conflict with the evidence of Text 19, which implies that abuses had gone unchecked before 1 June of the following year. One solution would be to regard Year 8 as a date in the joint reign (October 163); no such date is known for the joint reign, however, and we should have to assume either confusion or uncertainty in the mind of the scribe. This is not entirely out of the question (note the reappearance of 'Year 9' of the joint reign in Pestman, *Chronologie*, 51), but it is not an attractive notion, and it would clearly be better to assume that the present text describes a preliminary attempt at reform, before the great investigation of Year 9 of Philometor.

g. Restore 'in the chapel of Thoth', or similar.

h. See textual note *ad locum*.

i. The embalming-place: see translation note c to Text 1, I, p. 12 above.

j. Grammatically the reference should be to the god.

k. 'Reward, bonus' (?); see textual note.

l. A more literal translation might be 'in his proper place behind it (the procession)'.

m. Hardly 'the inspector': see note l to the translation of Text 19, V^o 13, p. 80 above.

n. Presumably the three appointed above.

Preliminary Remarks

Like Text 1, the present document is the draft of a memorandum prepared by Hor of Seben-nytos. Its purpose was to establish the part played by the author in various reforms proposed for the administration of the ibis-galleries. In its details, the ostrakon resembles Text 19.

TEXT 22

Height	18.0 cm.
Width	21.4 cm.
Thickness	0.85 cm.
Munsell	7.5 YR 6/4 (interior 2.5 YR 6/6)

Photograph	Plates XXIV (R ^o), XXV (V ^o)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-122 [5390]

A large ostrakon, roughly triangular, of fine red ware with horizontal striations to which a buff wash has been applied. The recto bears fourteen lines, faded in parts, with insertions, in a hand which is recognizably that of the Memphite Hor. Upon the verso are traces of seven lines completely erased, which are followed by a further six, the continuation of the recto. The sherd is slightly curved. The entire ostrakon is a palimpsest, with traces appearing beneath the writing of both faces; on the verso, these traces are upside down.

Text: recto

1. *n-drt Hr. dt-w mnt hr p; hb twty šb^a*
t; mdt smn m-s; l
2. *ht snt dt.^b t; mdt ph Kmy t; t; ht-mdt (t)wsh*
p; ntr c; Dhwt; r-i (t; nty t; n; chyt nty
lw (n) n; tšw).^c
3. *tr-i p; y-s smy (hst-sp 5t tpy šmw sw 14)^d hb n;*
Pr-c; (n) hty^e n-lm-s. ch-c-i lrm p; hr-tb^f
4. *hr r; t; wmtt (n) Hp-nb-s dd-i n-f t; nty tw-i*
tr-rh-s r-db;
5. *dlt tr-w p; nty nfr-f (n) p; cš-shn (n) p; hb*
p; blk ht tm dlt ik mdt^g
6. *(n) t; nty t; t; y-f hrt lrm t; y-f krt.*
hn-f-s (n) P; šr-(n)-t; lht (s) P; ym
7. *nty šn ht-ntr lrm P; dl-Mntw^h p; mr-šn*
(r) dlt tr n; wcbw (n) Pth
8. *kd-f (n) kdyⁱ rmt s 5 (t)snt-w lw-w nhty*
bn-lw-w
9. *pnc^j mtw wcb 2 n-lm-w šn t; hrt mtw 3 hn-w*
10. *šn^k p; cš-shn [[nfr]] (n) p; hb (p; blk)*
t; wcbt (n)
11. *Hp-nb-s tn^l nb n p; ntr nty lw-w gm-f*
12. *hr p; tr mtw-w dlt mnt^m n-lm-s*
13. *lw-f krs swt*
14. *wc ntr (n) wct mgt.*

Text: verso

(For the erased traces, see below).

The following lines have been partially de-surfaced, but not erased.

1. *n: hq̄w nty lw-w twt m-s: n: mtrw-w dlt-s
wb: r: Hp-nb-s^a*
2. *mtw-w dlt n: mštw^b ((n) n: rwyw) (n) wrt dnyt
mtw-w tbr t: hny^b (n)*
3. *n: wcbw nty šn mtrw-w dlt-s (n) t: wshyt
n-drt n: wnw^b*
4. *nty lw-w wd: lw-f wpy tm nht n: sdm-rš*
5. *(n) n: hbw irm n: sdm-rš (n) p: blk n: ntrw
[]^c*
6. *lw-w tr krs-f.*

(At the bottom of the sherd, upside down and therefore part of the palimpsest, the words *mtw-k Wstr-Hp* have been erased).

The remaining lines were vigorously erased by the scribe:

- | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| 1.* | <i>b:k</i> |
| 2.* | <i>Dhwti p: r: b:k</i> |
| 3.* | |
| 4.* | |
| 5.* | <i>rš-šn</i> |
| 6.* | <i>Kmt mtrw-w n: ntrw tp-i</i> |
| 7.* | <i>dr-w t: ht-mdt wrt-s.</i> |

No connected translation is possible.

Notes

a. The same group occurs in Text 26, 5, in a similar context. The group here read *twty* resembles *nhh*, and is open to some doubt.

b. The *s* of *snt* looks rather like a *b*, but this yields little sense.

c. Although inserted below the line, these words seem most naturally placed here.

d. This date has been added below, but before any of the following line was written, as this line is displaced downwards to allow for the insertion. With *chr-i* the scribe filled his pen, and this supply of ink lasted throughout the next line. It would therefore seem that the additional date was written before *chr-i*, and that it belongs here.

e. See note to Text 2, R^o 11, p. 17 above.

f. See note to Text 12, R^o 4, p. 51 above.

g. The lotus (?) at the end of this word is part of the palimpsest.

h. A doubtful reading, and **mi-nn* (s:) *Mn-Rr* would be equally possible, though the latter name (an abbreviation of *Mn-k*(s)-*Rr*?) is difficult to maintain.

i. See Text 19, V^o 3.

j. Cf. the similar phrase in Text 2, V^o 10.

k. The scribe has made an erasure which partially obscures this word.

l. Partly restored from Text 19, V^o 6.

m. The effect of the palimpsest has been to make this word resemble *mg* below.

n. Restored from Text 21, V^o 8-9.

o. The scribe has clearly written *štw*, but this makes little sense.

p. Rather hazardous, and suggested by the parallels.

q. *ry* will not suit the traces, though (n) *rn-w* may.

Translation: recto

1. From Hor.^a Regularity has been imparted into the Ibis without change: may (?) the matter be secure after me,
2. namely, founded for eternity. The matter which affects^b Egypt is the utterance which the great god Thoth laid upon me (that which concerns the chapels which are in the provinces).^c
3. I made its petition (in Year 5, Pakhons, day 14).^d The Pharaohs sent in haste(?) upon it. I stood with the magician
4. at the gate of the tower^e (of) Hepnēbes, and I told him what I knew concerning
5. causing to be performed that which is beneficial (for) the fortune (of) the Ibis (and) the Hawk, namely, not to detract from (any) matter
6. (of) that which concerns his sustenance and his burial.^f He ordered Pshentehe (son of) Payom
7. who investigates the temple,^g and Petimonth (?) the *lesōnis*, (to) cause the priests (of) Ptaḥ
8. to pass in review(?)^h five men (whom) they respect (and) who are trustworthy without
9. gainsay, and two priests of their number

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- shall investigate the sustenance, and three among them
10. investigate the fortune (of) the Ibis ((and) the Hawk) in the sanctuary (of)
 11. Hēpnēbes, (at) every count of the god which they shall find
 12. at the time. They are to impart regularity into it¹
 13. when he is buried (and) bandaged,
 14. one god (in) one vessel.

Translation: verso

1. The moneys which are collected after this, they are to give them¹ before the gate(?) (of) Hēpnēbes
2. and they are to place the inspectors (of the houses)^k (in) one chest and seal the storeroom (of)
3. the priests who investigate, and place it (in) the forecourt into the hand of the pastophoroi(?)
4. who are secure, it being judged(?) not to trust the servants
5. (of) the ibises and the servants (of) the Hawk, the gods in person(?)
6. when they perform his burial.

Notes

- a. As unqualified, perhaps Hōr of Sebennytos, cf. translation note to Text 12, R^o 1, p. 53 above.
- b. Text 3, V^o 18.
- c. A clear reference to Text 16, R^o 9-10, and one which makes very likely the identification of the *ht-mdt* named in either text. The motif of consulting a *hr-tb* also appears in both texts, and the words of ll. 5-6 of the present document are also present in the earlier. This identification may allow us to date the events of Texts 16 and 17 above; see preliminary remarks to the latter.
- d. The low year-date, and mention of plural Pharaohs, suggests the joint reign of Philometor and his brother. The date would then be 13 June 165. This would add weight to the statement in l. 1 that order

had now been installed into the affairs of the Ibis, whereas we have seen in Text 19 that such a state of affairs did not occur before 172. To identify our Year 5 with that of Philometor and his mother (177/6), while not impossible, would make nonsense of much of Text 19, and would antedate most of the events of our ostraca.

e. *orydate*, Crum, 480a; not an uncommon feature for temples (cf. Rylands IX, 2/14, 17, and the example quoted in Crum, loc. cit.), and denoting either a tower, or a monumental entrance such as a pylon. See Commentary below.

f. These words are identical to those of Text 16, R^o 3-4 and 17, 3-4.

g. See note to Text 19, R^o 17, p. 79 above.

h. Text 19, V^o 3.

i. The sanctuary.

j. The syntax at this point is rather difficult, and suggests that a clause may have been lost in the erased lines above.

k. i.e. the galleries of the Ibis and the Hawk.

Preliminary Remarks

This ostrakon seems to act as a continuation of the preceding in outlining the activities of Hōr in securing reforms at the ibis-galleries: an oracle (*ht-mdt*), which may be that referred to in Texts 16 and 17 above, has been interpreted¹ and its contents communicated to the administrators of the temple. This seems to have taken place in 165, when the reforms instituted in Text 19 were already advanced, and the additional measures seem designed to reinforce them.

TEXT 23

Height	21.6 cm.
Width	15.5 cm.
Thickness	0.95 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 5/6
Photograph	Plate XXVI (R ^o , V ^o)
Facsimile	Plate XXVIA (R ^o , V ^o)
Excavator's no.	71/2-128 [5396]

¹ We learn from the other texts that the interpretation was secured by the oracle of Imhōtep, and that this had happened on the previous 16 April.

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An ostracon of thick reddish ware and considerable difficulty. Smashed in antiquity into thirteen pieces by a blow to the middle of the recto, the ostracon has suffered badly from the action of salt. A fourteenth piece is missing. The writing, apparently composed in haste, with its numerous erasures and insertions, is that of Hor of Sebennytes. Twenty-four lines in this hand appear on the recto, a further fourteen on the verso. At the foot of the verso the Memphite Hor has added a further twelve lines in his own very neat script. The initial lines of the recto in particular present many difficulties.

Text: recto

1. *n-drt Hr nty hr tš^a p_i mtry^b (n)*
2. *n_i stb(hw)^c (n) Dhwt^y c_i nb Pr-Dhwt^y nty hr*
3. *p_i dw rs (n) Pr-Wsr-Hp p_i nty (n) Mn-nfr*
4. *tw-f šms n_i hrw^d (n) Hp-nb-s (n) t_i hst^e*
5. *Pr-Wsr [[dw]]^f hr p_i dw pr-mh^g (n) R-stw*
6. *cnh-tswy.^h tw-l wš-sⁱ n_i ssw (n) Pr-Dhwt^y*
7. *tw-l smy hr n_i (t_i)dd-w p_i ntr c_i Dhwt^y.
bn-pw-l*
8. *h_ic t_iy-f mit.^k t_i 3t ht-mdt dl-i hb*
9. *Htp-'In-hrt^l p_i hr-tb n-im-w hrt-sp 3t
ibd-4 šmaw^m sw 20 tw-w dlt*
10. *p_iⁿ gy-(n)-dlc-mdt (n) D-hr-p_i-lmi^o p_i rd (n)*
11. *Pr-c_i nty šn n^b n_i r-prw cnh-tswy mdt nbt^s smn*
12. *p_i hp n t_i mdt *ta [] ht p_i snt
(t_i)wn-n_i*
13. *hpr (n) t_i hrt^r ht [dlt] mnt hr p_i hb
p_i blk (n) Hp-nb-s*
14. *šty p_i inhy^s n_iy-f cwyw-(n)-htp n*
15. *pr-lmnt^s []^l p_i rmt nty tr (n) p_i
hb irm*
16. *n_iy-f swtw dlt hpr mdt nbt (n) t_i nty t_iy*
17. *n_i mštw (n) n_i cwyw mtw-f^u dlt-s (n) wct dny*
18. *tw-s tbc mtw-w dlt [t_i d]ny rn-s n-drt*
19. *n_i wnw [(n) t_i wsh]yt (ht-ntr) Pr-Pth*
20. *[]^v [] hrt-sp 3t ibd-4
šmaw sw 20 n_i rmtw*
21. *(n_i sdm)^w ip r tm dlt tr rmt [nb] shy (n)
p_i ntr rn-f (p_i hb irm n_i sdm-cš)^w*

22. *p_i blk [[tw-w tr hrs-f]]*
23. *tw-w tr hrs-f irm (p_i)^s nty hpr cn*
24. (erasure).

Text: verso

1. []^a rn-s t_i-tr-hr n_i wcbw
2. [] r-w t_i nty t_iy p_i mšt
3. [] n_i mštw
4. *na [] mn sp-sn
5. *p_i cwy-(n)-htp []^b ht p_i
snt (t_i)wn-n_i*
6. *smn nhh r-h[n] t_i wnw*
7. *tw-l tbc n-im-s.*
(there follows a space)
8. *[n-drt Hr] nty smy n wš^c hr n_i (t_i)dd-w p_i ntr
c_i*
9. *[Dhwt^y bn-pw-l h_ic t_iy.]^f mlt (erasures)*
10. [] p_i hb p_i blk p_i ntr
11. [] šty p_i inhy^d
12. []^e [] ht gy-
(n)-dlc-mdt (n)
13. *D-hr-p_i-lmi^f p_i rd (n) Pr-c_i [nty šn] n_i r-prw*
14. *hrt-sp 3t ibd-4 šmaw sw [20]^f*
(There follow twelve lines in the hand of the Memphite Hor)
15. *n-drt Hr Dhwt^y nb cnh*
16. *nty smy hr n_i (t_i)dd-w p_i ntr c_i Dhwt^y ht rswt*
17. *bn-pw-l h_ic t_iy-f mlt r-nhh.*
18. *tw-l tbc n-im-s tw-s hs tw-w tr n_i ipw*
19. *tm dlt isk^g p_i hr-tb hr t_i mdt*
20. *smn p_i hp (n) p_i hb^h p_i blk (n) Hp-nb-s*
21. *t_i nty t_iy t_i mnt irm p_i šty (n) p_i inhy
n_i rmtw (n_i wnw)*
22. *irm n_i nty hr n_i šštw hr t_i wshyt*
23. *n ht-ntr t_i thnytⁱ*
24. *r-db_i dlt wd_i p_i hb*
25. *p_i blk (n) p_i cwy-(n)-*
26. *htp.*

Notes: recto

a. cš is scarcely possible; the following signs, which resemble *nfr*, are perhaps to be taken as a rather clumsy writing of the determinative.

b. This seems to fit syntactically with the following word rather than with *ts*. This leaves the latter hanging, and we must assume either that the scribe intended to add **Mn-nfr* here, or that he relied upon *ts* on its own to convey this meaning. Neither is completely satisfactory, but the other options are even less so. A similar abbreviation, in which *ts* seems to stand for *Tb-ntr*, will be found in fragment 48, 1 below.

c. In spite of the abbreviation, the word seems close to the writings in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 477.

d. See note to Text 2, R° 2; the resemblance to the word *tph*, even in its meaning 'roof', is fortuitous, however, as is its similarity to the plural of *pt*, both of which yield very stilted translations. The reading offered with caution here assumes that the supralinear line is redundant.

e. Or *smyt*, see note to Text 8, V° 5, p. 41 above. The palimpsest here has *Pr-Wstr*.

f. The presence of the determinative before this group tends to exclude the reading *Hp*; if the present reading is correct, it may be that the scribe was anticipating the idea expressed more fully in the subsequent words.

g. See note to Text 1, 7, pp. 9-10 above, and to Text 3, V° 11, p. 28.

h. The same hieraticized writing as found in Text 18.

i. Unless the following pronoun is an example of the pleonastic use after *hn-s*, *tw-s*, etc., I can suggest no explanation for it.

j. The diagonal stroke is probably the usual complement to *pr*; cf. *Pr-Pth* in l. 19 below, and note on *Pr-Dhwt* in Text 1, 1, p. 8.

k. Restored from the traces, and from parallels on the verso. The strange sign at the end of the word is probably the 'legs-determinative' as it appears in Hor's handwriting.

l. Reading very doubtful, though less so than **Ns-In-hrt*.

m. The traces also resemble *tht*, but *smw* appears more clearly in l. 20, and V° 1. 14.

n. The beginning of this word is obscured by a palimpsest, *sm* or the like.

o. The final group, which recurs in V° 13, is difficult to interpret, and the present reading is not certain: one may also read **D-hr (s) Pr-dt-Itm*, or more likely a compound of the type *D-hr-pt-trt* in Text 19, R° 21-2. *D-hr-Nfr-tm* (Τεεεφθιμς) is unfortunately excluded by the absence of a determinative. **D-hr-pt-lpd*, which fits the traces, is not attested elsewhere.

p. No other example of this phrase shows the *n*, which may be a space-filler.

q. Extremely uncertain, especially the group *mdt*, as the ostrakon has suffered badly from salt at this point.

r. Likewise conjectural.

s. The traces may also suit *nb cnh*; the text is based on V° 11, and Text 19, R° 11.

t. **Mn-nfr* may have stood in the lacuna.

u. Faint traces only survive, far from conclusive.

v. Just possibly the *wmtt* of Text 22, but otherwise uncertain.

w. These words seem to have been inserted in a most awkward fashion; the translation is based on the most plausible syntax, and the parallel in Text 21, V° 1-2.

x. Perhaps omitted by haplography.

Notes: verso

a. Is *ts ht-mdt* to be restored here?

b. The final traces may suit (*pt*) *blk*, but it is then difficult to see what has become of *pt hb*.

c. The palimpsest has *nt dd-w*.

d. Cf. R° 14, and Text 19, R° 11.

e. One would expect *mtw-w dlt* to have stood somewhere here, but the traces hardly support this.

f. Restored from recto.

g. A variant of *tsk* 'delay' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 44); *thy* (ibid. 8) seems less convincing.

h. The palimpsest has *ts 3t ht (-mdt)*.

i. The present spelling, not elsewhere attested, seems to correspond to the Bohairic *regn* (Crum, 460b).

Translation: recto

1. From Hor who is upon the nome,^a the witness^b (of)
2. the equipment (of) Thoth the great, lord of the House of Thoth, which is upon
3. the southern mountain (of) the Serapeum which is (in) Memphis,
4. who serves (his) days (in) Hepnēbes (in) the desert
5. (of) the House of Osiris which is upon the mountain (of) the north (of) the necropolis
6. (of) 'Ankhtawy.^c 'I spend (my) days (in) the House-of-Thoth,
7. petitioning upon the (things) which the great god Thoth has said. I have not

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8. abandoned his path.^d The three utterances:^e
I caused
9. Hetpanhūri(?)^f the magician to send concerning them in Year 3, Mesorē, day 20.
They gave
10. the document (to) Djehepemou,^g the agent (of)
11. Pharaoh who investigates the chapels of Ankhtawy(?) in every detail(?), (to) ascertain
12. the law of the *said matter [.....], namely, the custom which
13. prevailed beforehand(?), namely, to impart regularity into the Ibis (and) the Hawk (in) Hepnēbes,
14. to excavate(?) the courtyard (of) his houses of rest to
15. the west [of Memphis]. The man who serves^h the Ibis and
16. his bandagings shall cause to happen every matter (of) that which concerns
17. the inspectors (of) the houses, and he shall place them (in) one chest
18. which is sealed, and they are to give the chest itself into the hand of
19. the pastophoroi [of the fore]court of the (temple of) the House of Ptaḥ
20. [.....]ⁱ (in) Year 3, Mesorē, day 20.
The men
21. (the servants (of) the Ibis and the servants (of) the Hawk)^j shall assess to prevent any man having control over the god himself (22)
23. when they perform his burial and (that) which shall further come about.

Translation: verso

1. [..... the utterance] itself before the priests
2. [.....] to them (in) that which concerns the inspection
3. [..... the] inspectors

4. *said [.....]
lasting, lasting
5. the house of rest [.....]
namely, the custom which was
6. established for ever until this hour.
7. I beg this.
8. [From Hor] who petitions in spending (his) time^k concerning the (things) which the great god
9. [Thoth has said. I have not abandoned his] path.
10. [..... the] Ibis (and) the Hawk, the god
11. [in person?] to excavate the courtyard of
12. [the Ibis] namely, (a) document (to)
13. Djehepemou(?),^g the agent (of) Pharaoh [who investigates] the chapels
14. in Year 3, Mesorē, day 20.' —
(The following lines are added by the Memphite Hor)
15. From Hor (of) Thoth, lord of life,^l
16. who petitions concerning the (things) which the great god Thoth has said through a dream.^m
17. I have not abandoned his path for everⁿ
18. I beg this, if it is favoured,^o that when they make the assessments,
19. not to allow the magician to slacken in the matter,
20. (but) to establish the law (of) the Ibis (and) the Hawk (in) Hepnēbes,
21. (in) that which concerns the regularity and the excavation (of) the courtyard, the men, (the pastophoroi),
22. and those who are over the windows^p upon the forecourt
23. of the temple of the Peak,^q
24. concerning the salvation of the Ibis (and)
25. the Hawk in his house of
26. rest.

Notes

a. *Mn-nfr* is presumably to be supplied, either explicitly or by implication. The handwriting makes it very likely that this is a reference to Hor of Sebennytyos, possibly while on an early visit to the Memphite shrine.

b. Possibly to an inventory of the vessels, statues, and cult-objects kept within the chapel of Thoth. This practice is known even from the Abusir Papyri under the Old Kingdom (Posener-Krieger and de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series*, 8-13).

c. For the details of this important topographical survey, see Commentary below.

d. An extension of the metaphor in Text 16, R° 4-5; cf. the observations there listed. The phrase is repeated in Text 17, 14-15.

e. It is not stated what form these utterances (oracles) took, although they may well have resembled the contents of Text 14. We have seen from Text 22 that such oracles, interpreted if need be, could provide the stimulus to reforms in the administration of the cult. The appearance of the magician (*hr-tb*), both here and in the previous text, suggests that the question was one of oracular material, and that in such questions the authority of the magician carried weight. See Commentary below.

f. **Esanhūri* is perhaps also possible.

g. Possibly also 'son of Petatūm' (?); see textual note.

h. For *trt n*, cf. *Wb.* i. 109.

i. See textual note for this lacuna.

j. The effect of reconstructing these lines (see textual note above) has been to remove l. 22 altogether from the translation, consisting as it does merely of an insertion and an erasure.

k. Apparently an alternative to the more frequent construction with this verb, for which see R° 6.

l. The Memphite Hor. This appellation, not previously attested, sheds light on his habit of naming himself *Hr-(n)-Dhwtj*. See note to Text 12, R° 1, p. 53 above.

m. Very reminiscent of τὰ ῥηθέντα δι' οὐέλπου of Greek Text B above; see note *ad locum*.

n. An interesting use of preterite and prospective in combination.

o. Cf. the use of *hr-tt* in Middle Egyptian with the connotation 'please' (*Westcar*, 9, 2-3; *Eg. Gr.* § 313).

p. If this is not a miswriting of *mštw* 'inspectors' (which we have already seen in Text 22, V° 2), the reference must be to 'windows of appearance' (*šttw n*

hr). The inscription of *rAnemho* (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 904, ll. 9-10) introduces us to the title *hm-ntr n štt n hr*, and the deity, Horus, who presides over the window (ibid. and 914, l. 5). See further Commentary, § 5 below.

q. For this important feature of the Memphite necropolis, which included, among others, the temple of Imhōtep-Asclepius, see Commentary, § 5.

Preliminary Remarks

The importance of this text lies in direct proportion to its difficulty. The recto bears a communication from Hor of Sebennytyos, who is apparently in Memphis at this time (September 167) to an unknown person, perhaps Pharaoh, in which he describes his role in bringing about reforms at the ibis-galleries of Saqqāra. The verso contains two petitions from the same man, that these reforms should be rigorously followed, and a postscript, added by the secretary, Hor of Memphis, to the same effect. The ostrakon is topographically of great importance.

TEXT 24

A Height	7.1 cm.
Width	9.4 cm.
Thickness	0.75 cm.
Munsell	(Ware) 5 YR 5/4 (Slip) 10 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXII
Facsimile	Plate XXIIA
Excavator's no.	G7-41 [470]

An ostrakon, joined from two fragments, of red ware with a thin buff slip, defaced in parts. The recto, which is slightly convex, bears traces of five lines, possibly in the hand of the Memphite scribe, while the verso, which shows a blackish incrustation, is uninscribed.

B Height	9.7 cm.
Width	7.4 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Photograph	Plate XXII
Facsimile	Plate XXIIA
Excavator's no.	G7-38 [467]

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This ostrakon is clearly part of the same original sherd, although it does not join it.

Text 24A

1. *n-drt Hr nty hrh* [^a]
2. *gm^b wd^c p^d hb* []
3. *Dhwtj r htp^e r-hn* [*t^d mlt^d*]
4. *m-kdy Mn-nfr trm nty-f* [^e]
5. *nb t^d wryt^f š^g p^d tny* [^h (insertion)^h]

Text 24B

- x+1. [*š^h Pr-Wsr[-*Hp*]
2. [*t^d ht-mdt tw-sⁱ*]
3. [*d^d dl-i tr-w* [**p^d nty nfr-f n p^d* *š-shn n*]
4. *p^d hb ht tm dlt šk* [**mdt n t^d nty t^d try t^d hrt* *trm*]
5. *t^d krt (n) p^d hb p^d* [**blk*]
6. *p^d by (n) Wsr p^d b[y*]
7. *n^d ntrw t^d y* [**n Kmt*].

Notes

- a. The traces faintly suit *p^d ntr*.
- b. Cf. the early example quoted in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 580.
- c. *gron*, Crum, 725b.
- d. Far from certain.
- e. The traces may suit *ntrw*; otherwise *try-f* may be read.
- f. For the determinative, cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 93, final example.
- g. The initial sign seems to resemble *tr*.
- h. So, rather than *tš* (?); *šdm-čš* may have been intended.
- i. I cannot interpret the final trace.
- i. *hb* is but one of many possibilities.

Translation: Text 24A

1. From Hor who watches over [.....]
2. power. The Ibis is secure [.....]
3. Thoth will fall into [.....]

4. likewise Memphis and its [gods(?)]

5. all, the great one^e up to the great dam^e [.....].

Translation: Text 24B

- x+1. [] servants (?) (of) the Serapeum (?) [.....]
2. [] the utterance which [.....]
3. [] namely, I caused to be performed [that which is beneficial for the fortune of]
4. the Ibis, namely, not detract from [a matter which concerns the sustenance and]
5. the burial (of) the Ibis [(and) the Hawk^e]
6. The soul (of) Osiris, the [soul]
7. the great gods [of Egypt(?)]^f].

Notes

- a. Possibly 'the great god (Thoth)' is to be supplied. This may be another epithet, like that of the preceding text, acquired by Hor of Sebennytes during his duties at the ibis-shrine.
- b. Possibly 'the way (of destruction)', or a similar phrase.
- c. An epithet of Isis; see Appendix 1.
- d. Perhaps the feature mentioned in Text 11, V^o 2 above.
- e. Largely supplied from Texts 16 and 17.
- f. Supplied from Texts 19 and 20.

Preliminary Remarks

These two fragments seem to represent the opening of an appeal by Hor of Sebennytes similar to Text 19; the destruction of Memphis and all its gods seems to be envisaged (whether as a result of the mistreatment of the ibises is uncertain) and Hor's part in securing reforms is again described.

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TEXT 25

Height	12.4 cm.
Width	9.3 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 Y 7/3 (interior 2.5 YR 5/4)
Photograph	Plate XXVII
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-124 [5392]

A small buff-ware ostrakon, bearing eleven lines in the hand of the Memphite Hor. Although the script is clearly preserved, erasures, changes of mind and of syntax make the sense difficult to grasp. The verso is blank. This text formed part of the corpus unearthed by Martin in January 1972.

Text

1. *n-drt sh ts Tb-ntr Hr nty hr Mn-nfr.*
2. *[[ssw ky r-bw-n:ry]]^a r-dbt dlt tr-w p: nty nfr:f*
3. *(n) p: ts-shn n p: blk p: by (n) Wsir Hr 3st^b*
4. *ht-mdt ph n p: hb p: by (n) Dhwti c: c:^c*
5. *dl-t^d tr-w smn-s twty sb^e (p: hp (n) t: ht-mdt) (ht p: snt (t)wn-n: hpr)^f*
6. *ht wd-s^g n n: wcbw nty ck m-b:ht Pth n*
7. *t: wshyt n ht-sp 9t^h ibd-4 iht sw 29*
8. *r-hn p: hrw tw-l (n) hp n mdt n hb*
9. *hr' Pr-p:ry-f-try r-dbt tr'*
10. *n: mšw n: nty tw-w dd n-l (n) wsh n-lm-s^h*
11. *(r) tr-s wsh n: (t)dd-w p: ntr c: Dhwti.*

Notes

- a. For a parallel to this erased line cf. Text 12, R^o 2.
- b. The palimpsest has *p: ntr c:*.
- c. The first *c:* is far from certain.
- d. The scribe seems to have written *p: by* again, erased it, written *dl-t* over this, and then again below for the sake of clarity.
- e. See note to Text 22, R^o 1, p. 85 above.
- f. Although this phrase stands below the line, it seems to fit more aptly here than into the following clauses.

g. A similar pleonastic object to those discussed in note b to Text 11, R^o 2, p. 49 above.

h. See Text 19, R^o 14, and note p, p. 75.

i. Text 12, R^o 2.

j. The final stroke is apparently a space-filler.

k. Syntactically this sentence is complex, and one might expect **n-lm-w* and *tr-w*. The singular pronoun has perhaps been influenced by the collective idea inherent in *n: nty*.

Translation

1. From the scribe of the nome of Sebennyto^a, Hor who is in Memphis,^a
2. concerning the performance of that which is beneficial
3. (to) the fortune of the Hawk, the soul^b (of) Osiris, Isis, (and) Horus.
4. The utterance (which) appertains to the Ibis, the soul^b (of) Thoth, the twice great:
5. I caused it to be established without change (?), (the law (of) the utterance, namely the custom which used to prevail),^c
6. namely, to decree to the priests who enter before Pta^h in
7. the forecourt in Year 9, Khoiak, day 29,^d
8. until this day (that) I was (in) the right^e in (the) matter of sending
9. to Pi-peferē^f because of performing
10. the journey^g which was told to me (in) an oracle
11. to perform, (the) oracle which was spoken by the great god Thoth.^h

Notes

a. A general title for Hor of Sebennyto^a in his self-imposed (or better god-imposed) exile; an alternative, to supply 'and' between *Tb-ntr* and the proper name, and take the whole as a description of both characters named Hor, is less happy.

b. Perhaps to be taken in apposition rather than conjunction.

c. See textual note above.

d. The date probably corresponds to 31 January 172; see note to Text 19, R^o 14, p. 79 above.

e. The word *hp* (cf. *Wb.* ii. 488) is of considerable interest in our documents. Much light has been shed

on the word in general by Nims, *JNES* 7 (1948), 243 ff.; for the plural *n* *hpw* used to indicate the general body of law, cf. Hughes, *Saite demotic land leases* (Chicago, 1952), 70, § q. That the word transcends the meaning 'law' is shown by the epithet *t* *mr-hp* used as a translation of δικαιούνη in titles of Cleopatra III (Pierce, *Three Papyri in Brooklyn*, 31, § 16); whether the epithet was deserved is another point. The same extension of meaning is brought out in *Canopus* 14/52, where *n* *nty* *n* *hp* *n* *tr-w* *hr* *py-s* *tr-ntr* corresponds to τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκθέωσιν αὐτῆς νόμιμα. The opposite of *tw-f* *n* *p* *hp*, namely *tw-f* *hr* *p* *hp*, is seen in *Demotic Chronicle*, ii. 16, with a similar phrase in criticism of Pharaoh Hakoris, *ibid.* iv. 10.

f. See note to Text 12, R° 2, p. 53 for this locality.

g. The translation as a collective singular is chosen to aid the syntax, but that it is justified is suggested by Text 2, R° 5, and 4, R° 8.

h. A very similar phrase in Text 23, V° 16.

Preliminary Remarks

The main purpose of this rather incoherent text seems to be to place on record the fact that Hor's journey to Pi-peferē, which we know to have taken place between 172 and 168 (Text 12), was justified by an oracle of Thoth, decreed to the priests of Ptaḥ at Memphis.

TEXT 26

Height	19.8 cm.
Width	13.6 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	(R°) 5 YR 5/4 (V°) 5 YR 3/1
Photograph	Plate XXVIII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XXVIII A (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-24 [453]

An ostrakon of dark grey ware overlaid on the recto with a red slip. Six fragments were recovered by Emery and joined, but there are still missing portions at the beginning of the recto and at the ends of ll. 5-11. The hand is that of the Memphite Hor, although clearly dictated by Hor of Sebennytes; twenty-one lines fill the recto, and a further seventeen the verso. The

latter have been written in a slightly enlarged hand to allow for the greater curvature of the surface. Much of the middle portion is faded beyond recall.

Text: recto

1. [*wr mkmk*]^a (n) *3rstn* (n) *Tbny*^b
2. [*n-drt Hr rmt*] *dml*-(n)-*3st* (n) *p* *tš* (n) *Tb-ntr*
3. []^c *ms* (n) *dml nty hry. wn mtw-s nry-s*^d
4. [] *snh trm nry-s nkt* []
5. [] *tw-w smn* []
6. [] *n* *tyw* (n) *Pr-c* []
7. [] *dd t* *hrt* (n) *n* [*hbw*]
8. [] *hrt* (n) *n* *hbw tw* []
9. [] [*t* *hrt nty tw-w tr-s*] []
10. *mtw-w tn-s* (r) *t* *hyt* [] *m* *n sp-sn*
11. *t* *nty tw p* *hb* [] *r-s. tp-i n*
12. *Pi-dl-Hr-p* []^e *p* *hm-ntr 3st p* *wb nty tr mnh* (n) *3st*
13. *t* *hrt rn-s r dlt wd-s šr-tw-w*^h *hb*
14. *p* *nty* (r) *ht-w. gm-i-s hḥ*ⁱ *h*. *t* *nty hpr tp-i* (r)
15. *dlt wd-i dl-i wy n-drt-i p* *ck* (i) *tr-w smn-f*
16. *hr-i hn p* *r-pr. dl-i wsh-f n* *ckw*
17. (n) *rn-f t* *hrt* (n) *n* *hbw. gm n-i Dhwtw twh. tr-f šn*
18. < *swg-t*^j *r-db-s. dl-f tr-s htr r-i*
19. (n) *sm*^k *n-k dd wn n* *gmw*
20. *trm n* *tm-hp*^l *nty tw-w tr n-tm-w*^m
21. (n) *t* *hyt rn-s*.

Text: verso

1. *tw-s try r-k* (r) *dlt lk* []
2. [] *hn-s* []
3. [] *sdm hrw-i* []
4. [] (traces)^o []
5. [] *nry ws r-w* []
6. (trace) [] *tp t* *hrt* (n)
7. *n* *hbw* [] *t-tr-f dlt wpy*^r
8. (inserted line)^s *n* *wrbw* (n) *3st tr p* *šn* (n) *nry* (n) *rd*

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9. *mtw-w hb n-k n-lm-w hr-rdwy-s'*
10. *(r-ht) ht-mdt Dhwti p: c: p: c: p: c: p: hry*
p: nb
11. *(n) p: hsty tw-f dlt n-k chr ky (n) hb*
12. *tr-k p: rdwy (n) nry-k hrdw m-srk hn*
13. *ni hst (n) Pr-c: sc dt lrm*
14. *nry-k hrdw sc dt.*

Notes

- a. The determinative is clearly visible.
- b. See note to Text 7, 6, p. 36 above.
- c. An ambiguity arises here from the feminine pronouns which follow; we may restore either **wn wt* *shmt tw-s ms*, taking the following pronouns as personal, or equally **r-dbi t: chyt n ms*, with pronouns impersonal. The context seems to indicate the latter.
- d. *try-s* is equally possible.
- e. The surviving signs may represent *n-lm-w*.
- f. The curved sign following *Pr-c:* may mark the opening of a cartouche.
- g. The final element resembles greatly the group following *D-hr* in Text 23, R^o 10 and V^o 13, but this may be coincidental; *try* 'companion' would require different determinatives. I have therefore suggested no reading. The epithet *tr mnh* (possibly as the equivalent of *στολιστής*) is, however, paralleled from Tanis Stela (Canopus), 6 *ni wrbw nty sm r p: nty wrb r tr mnh n ni ntrw*; see Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1555, 4-6.
- h. The intervening sign resembles *dlt*, and I can suggest no explanation for its presence, except by the perhaps wishful assumption that it was deleted by the scribe; certainly it seems much fainter than the surrounding characters. Much doubt surrounds all of this latter part of l. 13.
- i. See notes to Text 3, R^o 26 and to Text 18, R^o 2, pp. 23, 67-8 above. Both reading and translation are offered with reserve.
- j. *swg* is doubtful, and the group preceding it unidentified.
- k. It seems more plausible to take this as infinitive dependent upon *htr* than as *sgm-f* with first person suffix omitted.
- l. The reading *st (n) hp*, though plausible, is hard to reconcile with the writings in Text 3, V^o 18, and Text 4, R^o 1. I can find no parallel for the reading offered, and do so with reserve.
- m. *gm-w* is less convincing.

n. The traces seem to show the top of *hh*; see note i above.

o. The obscurity of these middle lines may be due as much to erasure as to natural fading, and I can suggest few readings.

p. These traces may suit *(c:-)shn*.

q. The remaining group escapes me.

r. This reading, which is Smith's, is more plausible than my own *hry*.

s. Smith, in his earlier copy, read *(t:) nty hpr n-lm-f*.

t. For this expanded form cf. Text 2, R^o 11.

u. Doubtless an alternative writing for *rd* (*prte*).

v. These last three lines are obscured by the palimpsest, which, apart from *pry-k hry* in the centre of l. 13, is illegible.

Translation: recto

1. [A memorandum^a] (to) Ariston^b (of) Daphnae(?)^c
2. [from Hor, man of] the town of Isis (in) the nome (of) Sebennytos
3. [concerning the chapel of]^d birth (in) the above town. It possesses its
4. [.....] maintenance and its property(?) [.....]
5. [.....] them, they being secure [.....]
6. [.....] the fathers (of) Pharaoh [.....]
7. [.....] namely, the food (of) the [ibises]
8. [.....] food (of) the ibises, being [.....]
9. [.....] [[the food which is offered]] [.....]
10. and they shall bring it to the chapel [.....] lasting, lasting,
11. upon which the Ibis [.....] I assessed to
12. Petiharp[.....], the prophet of Isis, the priest who performs service (for) Isis,
13. the food named to keep it safe until they sent
14. that which was appropriate (?)^e I found it utterly(?) ruined(?). That which happened: I reckoned (to)

15. save myself. I rid myself^a of the bread^b (which) was established
16. for^c me within the chapel. I caused him to deposit the loaves
17. (in) his (own) name, the food of the ibises. Thoth found fault with me. He made an investigation
18. (..... of my wrongdoing) concerning it. He caused it^d to lay upon me (the) compulsion
19. (of) appealing to you: for the calamities
20. and illegalities(?)^e which are being committed
21. are (in) the chapel named.

Translation: verso

1. It behoves you to cause [.....] to cease.
2. [.....] command it [.....]
3. [.....] hear my voice [.....]
4. [.....] (traces) [.....]
5. [.....] these fail(?) them [.....]
6. (trace) [.....] assess the food (of)
7. the ibises [.....]. He caused to judge(?)
8. (that which had happened(?)). The priests (of) Isis made the investigation (of) these things (in) earnest,
9. and they sent to you concerning them^f immediately
10. (according to) the utterance of Thoth, the three times great,^g the master, the lord (of)
11. the heart, who gives to you a life long (in) festival.^h
12. You are the agent (of) your children after you, within
13. the favours (of) Pharaoh for ever, together with
14. your children for ever.ⁱ

Notes

- a. For other memoranda see Text 1 (with note to l. 1, p. 12), and Text 21 above.
- b. Ἀπλῶν, Preisigke, 49. Whether the present character, who is clearly from V^o 12-14 a personage of importance, is the same as that of Text 4, R^o 15, is impossible to decide; but he may well have been familiar to Pharaoh, and therefore, like *Hrynys*, used to add credibility to the complaints of Hor.
- c. See textual note above, and note to Text 7, 6, p. 36.
- d. See textual note.
- e. The name 'Ptolemy' may have followed.
- f. Some such word as *hṯp* may be supplied.
- g. Literally 'according to their nature'; see also note *u* to Text 1, 6, p. 9 above.
- h. The characteristic formula of a cession-document; whether such a document was in fact made, or whether the phrase is used more loosely, is not easy to decide.
- i. Although this word would be natural in the sense of 'income', the following lines seem to imply that it is the actual substance of the food of the ibises, and I have left the literal translation. It is not easy to see where Hor's transgression lay. The prophet of Isis seems to have held food in trust for him pending the issue of new rations; this appears to have perished. Hor, who would be held responsible for this loss, colludes with the prophet, and the bread is ascribed to the latter. The god, however, finds this reprehensible, and Hor is obliged to appeal to Ariston for redress against the temple authorities.
- j. See note *t* to Text 1, 11, p. 13 above.
- k. Presumably 'the matter in question'.
- l. See textual note.
- m. *n-lm-w* could not stand as the object of the conjunctive; hence the reading *nty lw-w*.
- n. Cf. Text 2, V^o 15.
- o. The same phrase as in Text 8, V^o 2, although it is there offered to Hor, whereas here Hor wishes the same for Ariston.
- p. It is possible that these final lines would have been revised in transcription on to papyrus.

Preliminary Remarks

In this sadly incomplete text Hor, who describes himself as a citizen of Temenēsi (Isiopolis), relates the history of a dispute in the birth-chapel of the Ibis which stood in this

town. Its revenues had apparently been established traditionally, and food for the ibises was customarily transported thither. A proportion of the food was the responsibility of Hor, and while this was entrusted to a colleague, a prophet of Isis (Hor in Greek text C describes himself as a pastophoros of this goddess), the food suffers a mishap. Hor's attempt to conceal this misfortune invokes the censure of the god, and he is forced to appeal to higher authority. It may have been this scandal which prompted his departure to Memphis, although we may suspect that his reputation was vindicated for him to have mentioned the incident at all.

TEXT 27

Height	12.6 cm.
Width	10.3 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 4/3
Photograph	Plate XXVII (R°, V°)
Facsimile	Plate XXVIIA (R°, V°)
Excavator's no.	G7-35 [464]

A small brown-ware ostrakon. The recto, upon which traces of some ten lines can be seen, is greatly faded and crossed with vertical lines which may have been intended to cancel the text. The verso, which is written upside down to the recto, is more satisfactorily preserved, and bears eleven more lines, in the hand of Hor of Sebennytos.

Text: recto

1. *Pr-ε* *Ptrowmys* *ε* *ε* *ε*.
2. *sm* *Hr* (*s*) *Hr*-[*nd-lt-f*]^b *p* *sh* *rmt* *dml*-(*n*)-
3. []^c []^d *t* *Pr-ε* *st*
4. *hpr* [] *nty* *hn* []
5. *3st* *p* *hm-ntr* [] *mdt-nfrt*
6. [] *p* *ntr* *ε* [] *hr* *st*
7. [] *p* *y* *k* *hd*
8. [] *chr* []
9. [] *Wstr*
10. *st* [] *hn-w*.

Text: verso

1. *wn kt wrbt. hn*
2. [[*r-db* *dlt* *ir-w*]] *nhh*^e
3. *r-db* *dlt* *ir-w* *n* *mdt* (*n*)
4. *Wstr hn-f lw-w wrb*
5. *hr p* *rd*.
6. *n* *chyt* (*n*) *Kmy* *irm* *n* *mw*
7. *m-s-w* *irm* *n* *trw* *nty* *hpr* *p* *hrw* *sh*
8. *Dhwty lw-f tn sgny*^a *n-drt* *n* *rmtw*
9. *dryw* (*n*) *w* *sp*.^h *st* *t* *y* *t* *hrt* (*n*) *p* *hb*
10. *st mwt*ⁱ (*n*) *hk(r)* *i-tr-hr-f* *bw-ir-w*
11. *db* *p* *ntr* *ε* *n*.

Notes

- a. Cf. Text 7, 2, note b, p. 36.
- b. Restored from Text 18, R° 1.
- c. The traces do not suit *3st*, which one would expect, and it may be that a palimpsest has obscured the line.
- d. *Dhwty* may be visible, but the context is too obscure: there is no trace of *Tb-ntr*.
- e. The group resembles *iwty* of Text 22, R° 1, and is far from certain.
- f. Disfigured by an accidental stroke of the pen.
- g. For this spelling, cf. Text 12, V° 6.
- h. Concealed beneath the following word.
- i. Traces resemble *dlt*, which may be correct. The text is drawn from Text 7, 12-13.

Translation: recto

1. Pharaoh Ptolemy.^a
2. The greeting of Hor (son of) Harendjiōtef, the scribe, a man of the town (of)
3. [Isis?] the Queen.
4. There happened [.....] who is within [.....]
5. Isis the prophet [.....] blessing
6. [.....] the great god [.....] upon [.....]
7. [.....] your silver(?)
8. [.....] stand [.....]
9. [.....] Osiris
10. they [.....] within them.

Translation: verso

1. There is another sanctuary: approach
2. [.....]
3. in order to perform the words (of)
4. Osiris within it,^b they being pure
5. upon the foot(?)^c
6. The chapels (of) Egypt and the waters
7. behind them and the times which are to come this day(?);^d the writing of
8. Thoth when he brought consolation to the mighty
9. men together. They steal the food (of) the Ibis.
10. They die(?) (of) hunger before him: no longer
11. do they requite the god.

Notes

- a. Ptolemy VI Philometor.
- b. A masculine noun is referred to, which must lie in the missing portion of the recto.
- c. This may be nothing more than an elevated version of *hr rdwy*, but it is more likely to refer to a ritual requirement, cf. Herodotus, II, 37.
- d. The text greatly resembles *rk* 'loaf', but this yields insufficient sense even for an oracle. At the time of the discovery, Smith suggested *n: iht nty hpr p: rk*, which still has much to recommend it. A similar utterance to the present may perhaps be seen in *Demotic Chronicle*, iv. 22, *nry:n sl(w) nry:n mry(w)*.

Preliminary Remarks

The meagre traces of the recto show that this text is the draft of a message of greeting to Pharaoh; upon the verso an enigmatic text, an oracle of Thoth, lays down requirements for the ritual. The text concludes with an accusation: the mighty men, to whom this oracle was vouchsafed, abuse the trust of the god and neglect the care of the ibises.

TEXT 28

Height	17.2 cm.
Width	13.3 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm. (top)—1.1 cm. (bottom)

Munsell	10 YR 7/4
Photograph	Plate XXIX
Facsimile	Plate XXIXA
Excavator's no.	G7-36 [465]

A buff-ware ostrakon, in two roughly equal parts, taken from the shoulder of a storage jar. Part of the curvature of the neck is visible at the bottom of the text. The verso shows a brownish incrustation, and is uninscribed, and the recto has been painstakingly erased with a moistened finger: a clear print is visible in the upper right-hand corner. The contents are thus largely obliterated.

Text

1. (Pr-*cs*)^a *Ptrowmys irm Pr-*cs**
2. *Ptlwmys^b p:ry:f sn irm t: Pr-*cs*t*
3. (Klwp[tr:]) *n-drt Hr (s:) Hr-[nd-lt:f]^c rmt*
Pr-Dhwty (n) p: ts (n) Tb-ntr.^d
4. *tw[-l] ty [r p: rwy-(n)-htp] [(traces)]*
5. *dd [] mdt []*
hp []
6. [(traces)]
7. [(traces)]
8. [(traces)]
9. *3st [(traces)]*
10. *smn [(traces)]*
11. *dd [] mn ht-ntr wbs:k []*
12. *Dhwty *cs cs nb Hmnw [] (ht 3st)**
htp irm-w
13. [(traces)]
14. [(traces)]
15. *ht-w-s smy-w n: cs-shnw. tr try:s^e hmw 3st*
16. *wrt phrt (n) t: Pr-*cs*t [] Pr-*cs*t*
bn-pw-w (traces)]
17. *tr try phrt [(traces)]*
18. *Pr-*cs*t (traces) []*
19. *try-w gns n-lm-w. dd-f ht-mdt dd [(traces)]*
20. *Pr-*cs*t wn []*
21. *tw wh:k hr nry.*

o

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Notes

a. It is difficult to see why this word should be inserted thus, particularly as the following *rw* is on the line; possibly the original writing of *Pr-r* had been defective.

b. The scribe seems clearly to have written *-l-*, as in the name of the Queen below.

c. Restored from Text 19, R^o 1.

d. Meagre traces only, but clear; see therefore note b to Text 2, R^o 3, p. 15 above.

e. *try-n* is perhaps possible.

f. This section of the text appeared on close examination to be quite blank, yet the context clearly demands a continuation.

Translation

1. (Pharaoh) Ptolemy and Pharaoh
2. Ptolemy his brother^a and Queen
3. (Cleopatra) from Hor son of Harendjiōtef, a man of Pi(?)⁻Thoth (in) the nome (of) Sebennytos.
4. I came [to the house of rest]
5. saying [.....] word [.....] law [.....]
6. [(traces)]
7. [(traces)]
8. [(traces)]
9. Isis [(traces)]
10. secure [(traces)]
11. saying [.....] the temple endures before you [.....]
12. Thoth the twice great, lord of Hermopolis(?) [.....] (according to(?) Isis) rest(s) among them
13. [(traces)] the Queen
14. [(traces)] they brought it^b
15. they abandoned it.^b They pleaded (for) the fortunes. Her(?)^c mistress Isis made
16. a remedy for the Queen [.....] Queen. They did not
17. make this remedy [(traces)]
18. Queen [(traces)]

19. They have wronged them.^d He^e said an utterance, saying [.....]

20. Queen: there is [(traces)]

21. you wish in this matter.

Notes

a. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, δ ἀδελφός. The present text was written during the joint reign (170-163), but the precise date, if ever written, is now lost to us.

b. Or 'her' (?).

c. Or possibly 'our' (?).

d. See Text 16, R^o 11, and Demotic Text A, 1 above, for the meaning of the term.

e. Possibly the god Thoth, who appears in l. 12.

Preliminary Remarks

Deliberate erasure in antiquity has destroyed much of the value of this ostrakon. It was written at an unknown point in the joint reign, and addressed to both Ptolemies together with the Queen; indeed, it may have been the mention of 'the Brother' which prompted the erasure. The Queen is apparently ill,¹ and Isis proposes a healing remedy. This is not the end of the matter, as another oracle is mentioned, given perhaps by Thoth. Hor's part in these events will have appeared in the missing portion; all we know is that he now describes his home town as Pi(?)⁻Thoth in the Sebennyte nome.

TEXT 29

Height	18.0 cm.
Width	28.3 cm.
Thickness	1.00 cm. (av.)
Munsell	(Ware) 2.5 YR 6/4 (Wash) 10 YR 8/4
Photograph	Plate XXX
Facsimile	Plate XXXA
Excavator's no.	G7-39 [468]

A long ostrakon from the side of a storage jar, whose pink ware has been coated with a thin buff wash. The verso bears a brownish incrustation, and is uninscribed. The recto, which

¹ The restless mind of the historian will suggest that childbirth is at cause, but it will find no peace among the evidence.

originally bore some thirteen or more lines of script, has, like the preceding text, been deliberately erased, and even the bare traces shown here have been recovered with the severest difficulty. The ostrakon was discovered by Emery, together with the preceding, in the find of 1965/66.

Text

1. *Pr-cj Ptwm[y]s (irm t) Pr-cjt Kr[wptri]*
2. *[n-drt] Hr [(s) Hr-nd-lt-f] p; sh rmt dmt-(n)-3st [(n) p; ts Tb-ntr. [hst-sp 2 t-tr hst-sp 30^a] hpr [tw t] hrt [(n) n] h[bw] [*
(traces)]
3. *[*
(traces)]
4. *[*
dd [
Kmy hr-w. hpr
tw n; mdt
[
(traces)]
5. *p; shn [*
hpr krst bint r hry
mdt nbt tr-rh-s bn-tw-k hr mwt mtw-i gm
[
(traces)]
6. *mdt *ta^b in-s mtw-i mdt [*
mwt hn [
tr-rh-i
[
hpr wn-n;w
]
7. *[*
ts nty try [
m-s; hpr htht [
hr-w [
mdt nbt hr
]
8. *[*
(traces)]
hb t-tr hpr t; hst.
9. *Pr-cj Ptwmys irm [t] Pr-cjt Krowptri n;*
ntrw cy nhya Hr (s) Hr-nd-lt-f^a p; sh rmt
dmt-(n)-3st (n) p; ts Tb-ntr.
10. *Rc-kd [*
(traces)]
ht-mdt [
(traces)]
Pr-cj
11. *Pr-cj [*
(traces)]
dd hr p; [
hpr htht [
]
12. *[r]-hn p; tr [*
hf-f r-db;
try t; hrt n n; ntrw [
]
13. *nry-f chyt [*
(traces)]
bn-tw[w] sm n-w irm-f cn (mdt...) bw-tr-w
tr p; wd; [
].
(no traces of other lines are visible).

Notes

a. The first group before *hst-sp 30* is extremely doubtful. In the space above the scribe seems to have inserted *t; hst* (or perhaps *nhh*) *hpr rh*, but it is difficult to see where these words belong.

b. For this transliteration, see note to Text 2, R^o 7, p. 16.

c. This word, which in both l. 7 and l. 11 follows *htht*, is obscure; it most resembles *hr-hb*, which yields poor sense, but both examples are faint and no reading may command belief.

d. See Text 3, V^o 7 and note *m*, p. 24 above.

e. Restored from the parallels; the surviving traces, though explicable as a writing of **n-drt-f* (see Text 19, R^o 1), are capable of other interpretations.

f. The meagre traces may suggest that the name *Ptwmys* followed here.

Translation

1. Pharaoh Ptolemy (and Queen Cleopatra)
[the great gods]
2. from Hor [(son of) Harendjiotef] the scribe,
a man of the town (of) Isis (in) the nome of
[Sebennytos]. Year 2(?) which makes year
30:^a it happened (that) the food [of the
ibises]
3. [(traces)]
4. [.....] saying [.....] Egypt
under them. It happened (that) the words
[.....]
5. the command(?) [.....]. There hap-
pened a bad burial above (?) in every matter
(which) it knows (?). You shall not be
subject to death:^b and I found(?) [.....]
6. the *said matter: bring it:^b and I spoke [...
.....] die(?) within [.....]
.. I know [.....] it happened (that)
there were
7. [.....] that which concerns [.....]
.....] after there happened the inventory^c
[.....] concerning them [.....]
.....] every matter: for
8. [(traces)]
festival(?) which happened formerly.

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9. Pharaoh Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, the great gods: (the) plea of Hor (son of) Harendjiōtef(?) the scribe, a man of the town (of) Isis (in) the nome of Sebennytos.^a
10. Alexandria(?) [(traces)]
utterance [(traces)]
Pharaoh
11. Pharaoh [Ptolemy(?) (traces)]
saying in connection with the [.....]
..... there happened the inventory [.....]
[.....]
12. up to the time [.....]
his destruction, concerning stealing the food of the gods' [.....]
13. his chapels [(traces)]
they shall not walk with him again ([in any] matter (?)): they do not make the salvation [.....].

Notes

a. The thirtieth year of Philometor corresponds to 152/1; the 'Year 2', if correctly read, will be that of the short-lived Eupator, whom we first encounter associated in the kingdom on 28 March 152 (Pap. Rylands XVI: Griffith, *Rylands*, iii. 141). This is the latest date given in our archive. It is therefore difficult to see why Hor should refer to himself as a citizen of Temenēsi, although an explanation may perhaps appear in the repetition in l. 9 below, for he may be quoting a document written years before. Nevertheless it would still seem that he regarded Temenēsi as his home town, even after some fifteen or more years' residence in Memphis. The whole subject is difficult in the extreme.

b. The following conjunctives suggest that a quotation may perhaps have ended at this spot, but it is not possible to be certain.

c. 20121, Crum, 728a, although the verb may have been intended.

d. This repetition will either be due to the author revising his text (and the traces do show much repetition of the preceding lines), or represent a text quoted by him from an earlier date; the latter is plausible, but the traces are too meagre to admit certainty.

e. An alternative term for the birds (cf. *wrt ntr n wrt mgt* of the ibis texts 19-23).

Preliminary Remarks

This document, apparently the latest in our series, is largely obscure. The text begins with an address to the Philometores, and mentions their thirtieth year (152/1), and the food of the ibises. It is interesting to note that Hor still describes himself as a man of Temenēsi. The burial of the sacred birds may also have gone awry, and an inventory or search is mentioned. A second address, described as a 'plea' (*nht*) follows: the food of the gods has apparently been stolen, and the birds neglected. The offender is finally cursed. The deliberate erasure of the text may suggest that the writer regarded the contents as incriminating himself.

TEXT 30

Height	10.6 cm.
Width	9.5 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXIX
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-231 [5499]

An ostrakon in a dull brownish ware, in seven pieces, but not complete. The recto bears portions of twelve lines in the hand of the Memphite Hor. The verso is blank. It is possible that some of the unassigned fragments published later in this volume (nos. 51-5) may belong to this document, which generally resembles Text 12A above.

Text

1. *n-drt Hr-Dhwtj*.
2. *n: sdyw (n) Dhwtj hr* []
3. *n: shw (n) Pr-c: ht n: gyw-(n)-dlc-[mdt (trace)]*
4. *r dlt n-t p: r: khy^a n: trw nty wb: t: hrt [trm]*
5. *t: krst n p: hb r-db: tr p: šn(n) p: nty t: y [nry].*
6. *rnpt 5t r-bw-nry Dhwtj hb n-tm-i [hr Pr-p: y-f-try]^c*

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7. *ht* [(traces)] *ty nty*
ty tyf [
 8. [(traces)] *hrw-i (n)*
Rc-kd [
 9. [] *dl-i ph's r Mn-nfr (r) dlt*
mn[t]
 10. [*Hp-nb-s twty šb^a ht*
 []
 11. [*ht-sp*] 16 (n) *p^r lt* [°]
 12. [] *m-b^h Wstr^r* [
]

(other lines may have followed).

Notes

a. The determinative favours the masculine *kh* (𐩧𐩢𐩣) rather than the feminine *kh* (𐩧𐩢𐩣), but this is not certain, and the latter word often shows the extraneous -y present here. I have chosen the translation which seems less exceptionable.

b. Unless *p^r nty* is to be taken as in apposition to *ht* (which is feasible), it must be judged a variant of the more usual *ty* (or *nt^r*) *nty ty*; see note u to Text 2, R° 13, p. 17 above.

c. Restored, perhaps boldly, from Text 12, R° 2.

d. cf. Text 22, R° 1.

e. Tentatively reconstructed from Text 19, R° 13.

f. *Dhwt^y* is a dubious alternative.

Translation

1. From Harthoth.^a
2. The discourses(?) (of) Thoth upon [.....
.....]
3. the scribes^b (of) Pharaoh, namely, the
docu[ments(?) (trace)]
4. to give to me at the corner gate^c (at) the
times which concern the food [and]
5. the burial of the Ibis, in order to make the
investigation which (?) concerns [these
things].
6. Five years up to now Thoth sent me [to
Pi-peferē^d]
7. namely, [..... (traces)] that
which concerns his [.....]
8. [..... (traces)] I [.....] my voice
(in) Alexandria [.....]

Notes

a. See note to Text 12, R° 1, p. 53.

b. For this title, cf. note l to Text 1, 6, p. 13; 'the writings of Pharaoh' is an alternative translation.

c. 'District gate' is also possible; the mention of Hepnēbes in line 10 below suggests that this feature may have been located in the area, but no parallel suggests itself.

d. Cf. Text 12, R° 2 above, where a date is suggested for this interlude.

e. Text 19, R° 13 suggests that the reference is to Philopator, the date 207/6, and that this period marked the beginning of negligence in the cult of the Ibis.

Preliminary Remarks

This text seems to incorporate material from Texts 12 and 19, and perhaps represents a recension of some kind. The reference to the interlude in Pi-peferē, and the phrase 'five years till now', may indicate a date in 168 or thereabouts. The document seems to have sketched the part played by Hor in the reforms of the ibis-cult, and in an incident at Alexandria, of which one may imagine a considerable number in the year 168. The missing portion of the text may have outlined the history of the ibis-sanctuary at Memphis.

§ 5: Associated Texts

These texts, with one exception, share the provenance of the others, but their relationship to the main archive is not certain.

TEXT 31

A	Height	8.5 cm.
	Width	14.5 cm.
	Thickness	0.7 cm.
	Munsell	5 YR 5/2
	Photograph	Plate XXXI
	Facsimile	Plate XXXIA
	Excavator's no.	G7-4 [435]

A reddish ostrakon, roughly triangular, bearing upon the recto some six lines in an unidentified hand. The ware is crossed with horizontal striations; the verso, stained black, is uninscribed.

B	Height	12.1 cm.
	Width	11.1 cm.
	Thickness	0.7 cm.
	Photograph	Plate XXXI
	Facsimile	Plate XXXIA
	Excavator's no.	G7-3 [434]

This ostrakon provides a further eight lines in continuation of A, which it does not join. Both texts were discovered by Emery.

Text 31A

1. *wr mkmk (n) Srpyn p; hm-ntr Hr^a*
2. *p; wrb (n) Pr-^c; 3rgsntrs^b*
3. *n-drt Hr-nb-^cnh Hr-p; sn Hr-hb hm-ntr 3st*
[nty]
4. *sn p; ts Tb-ntr. rnpt (25) r-hn hit-sp 16 p;*
[^c]
5. [] *ir-i sms ts nbt twy*
[]
6. [] *sms []*

Text 31B

- x+1. [] (trace)
2. [] *bn-tw rmt gm n-lm-w*
3. [] *myt^a in-f p; ts*
4. [] *ts nbt (n) ts mdt nftr tr-w^a pry-f*
5. [] (trace)^b *ts mdt wpy Dhwty lrm ts*
ht-mdt
6. [] *zt *ta. hn-f-s n-l dd sn*
7. *m-s; ts hmt (n) Srpyn*
8. *in-s t-tr-hr-t'*

Notes

- a. This stroke is a space-filler.
- b. The *n* is very rudimentary.
- c. The traces do not suit the *tt* of Texts 19 or 30.
- d. A second *tr-i* may well have stood here.
- e. Perhaps the word of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 5.
- f. I am not confident of the meaning of this word, or even of its reading. The resemblance to some writings of *rt* 'limb' is clear, but the gender prevents the identification. I can find no evidence for its being an alternative writing of *twy* 'house', although the determinative indicates a word of this sort. I have therefore identified it with the *rt* (*rd*) of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 74.
- g. This pronoun seems to have been altered.
- h. The word must clearly have been a short one; *wf* suggests itself to the mind.
- i. The pronoun has been altered from *n*.

Translation: Text 31A

1. A memorandum (to) Sarapion,^a the prophet of Horus,
2. the great priest of Pharaoh Alexander,^b
3. from Harnebōnkh, Harpason, (and) Har-khēbi,^c prophet of Isis, [who]
4. investigates the nome of Sebennytos. (25) years until year 16,^d the [.....]
5. [.....] I served the lady of the two lands^e [.....]
6. [.....] I(?) served [.....]

Translation: Text 31B

- x+1. [.....] (trace)
2. [.....] no man will find them
3. [.....] soul(?). He brought (to) the bank(?)^f
4. [.....] the lady(?) (of) the benefit. They made his
5. [.....] the word (of) judgment (of) Thoth and the two
6. utterances *said. He commanded me saying, 'Enquire
7. after the wife (of) Sarapion:
8. bring her before me'.

Notes

a. The Σαραπίων of Preisigke, 363. This holder of the 'great priesthood of Pharaoh Alexander', i.e. the eponymous priesthood of Alexander the Great, was clearly a personage of importance; we note too that as in the case of]tryn, prophet of Khons and *basilikos grammateus* (Text 1, 6) the preference of the writer has been to let the native Egyptian title (in the present case *pꜣ hm-ntr Hr*, which is hardly likely to be a patronymic) take precedence over the administrative function; this seems to reflect the priorities of our archive.

No Sarapion is recorded in Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* 40 (1954), 50 ff., and this entire period in the middle of Philometor's reign is scantily represented; in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* the most likely candidate may be 914, attested at Memphis as τῶν διαδόχων about this time; 328, a personage of considerable importance prominent in the archive of Ptolemaios the *katochos*, is equally to be considered. For the spread of the name itself, see Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden, 1972), 99-100.

b. For this priesthood, cf. IJsewijn, *De sacerdotibus*, 134 ff.

c. This cluster of names may conceal a patronymic, but the general lack of titles suggests that the words may have been in the form of a list. The final epithets may apply to all three men; the following singular pronoun is hardly a reliable guide.

d. If correctly taken as Philometor's, the date would be 166/5. The ostrakon would then be retrospective, written after the end of the joint reign.

e. An epithet of Isis, cf. Text 1, 10.

f. See textual note above; the reading is not certain.

Preliminary Remarks

This text, a memorandum to Sarapion, eponymous priest of Alexander in the late 160s(?), is written by three men, connected with the cult of Isis in the Sebennyte nome; the coincidence of these facts with the career of Hor make it likely that these men are connected with the characters of the main archive. The text refers to the period from about 180 to 165, and to the cult of Isis, a span of time which we may surmise to have corresponded with the early career of Hor of Sebennytos. An oracle of Thoth is mentioned, but the rest is obscure. It is tempting

to believe that the text is in some way a substantiation of the activities of Hor at Temenēsi, but no proof can be offered for this.

TEXT 32

Height	11.1 cm.
Width	7.1 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	10 R 5/6
Photograph	Plate XXXI (R ^o , V ^o)
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	G7-5 [436]

A sherd of fine reddish ware, the recto very slightly convex. On this side stand the endings of ten lines in a Memphite hand, possibly that of the secretary Hor. The verso bears a further six lines in the same hand. The ostrakon is perhaps half complete. The text was found by Emery together with the preceding.

Text: recto

1. ^a] m-bꜣh Dḥwtꜣ ꜥꜣ wpyt nꜣ ḥtrw^b
2.] n-lm-f grḥ mtry hrw nb
3.] shwr-f nꜣ phrt
4.]^c n-lm-w pꜣ gy (n) lr-w nty tw-w
5.] rn-f kt 2t mtw-w dlt-s
6.] wpy-s pꜣ ntr ꜥꜣ Dḥwtꜣ
7. ḥt-]ntr 'Iwnw ḥt-ntr
8.] i-lr-ḥr 'Imn-pꜣ-ym
9.] mtw-w smn
10. ḥt-]ntr.

Text: verso

1. tw-l gm-s^d mtw-l [
2. šn-f-n dd wšḥ·tn dlt [
3. m-lr sbk (n) ḥsty tꜣ [
4. st ḥr pꜣ ꜥꜣ tw-w dlt [
5. dlt dd-f n-t tkr-k sh [
6. nꜣy r nty hry.

Notes

a. The text may have been one of the type *ḥrw bꜣh* NN m-bꜣh DN (cf. Hughes, *JNES* 17 (1958), 6; *JEA* 54 (1968), 179).

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b. The position of the vertical sign, whose base is lost in the following line, precludes the reading *t/ htr*. The use of plural pronouns (*·n*, *·tn*) on the verso supports the suggestion given here, but it is impossible to be certain.

c. Traces of a 'violent' determinative are visible.

d. Evidence of a northern dialect, as in the main archive.

Translation: recto

1.] before Thoth, great of judgment: the twins(?)^a
2.] upon him night and noontime^b every day(?)
3.] he despised the remedies
4.] them the way (of) making them which they [undertake]
5.] himself another two and they gave(?) them
6.] the great god Thoth judged it
7.] temple of Heliopolis (and) the temple^c
8.] before Amenpayom^d
9.] and they secured
10.] temple.

Translation: verso

1. I found it^e and I [
2. He asked us saying 'Have you given [
3. do not be faint (of) heart: the [
4. they are upon the summons,^f giving [
5. cause(?) him to say to me 'make haste: write [
6. these things according to (what) is above.'

Notes

a. For the reading see textual notes above; the temptation is strong indeed to see in these twins the two sisters of the Serapeum, Thavēs and Taous, whose affairs are so richly documented in the papers of Ptolemaios and Apollonios. Both date and locality support the identification, but other evidence is quite lacking.

¹ The provenance of this remarkable text is a matter of interest. The editor, judging by the prominence given to Thoth in his text and in its companion of *JNES* 17 (1958), 1 ff., naturally supposed this to be Hermopolis/Tōna el-Gebel. In the later article the mention of Ibis, Hawk, and

b. A common metaphor in appeals to gods, cf. the Buchis pebble, lines 4-6 ff. (Mond-Myers, *Bucheum*, ii. 56). The unpublished Pap. Carlsberg 67, a healing-prayer to Soknebtynis, has as its concluding phrase *grh m-kdy mtry*. A complaint to Thoth in the Michaelidis Collection (Hughes, *Studies J. A. Wilson*, 48¹) produces a much fuller variant *hbl grh tyt mtry* (l. 5) 'misery by night, misfortune by day', cf. also Pap. Cairo 50110, 6-7 (cf. *JEA* 54 (1968), 178, note to l. 1). The purpose is clearly to attract the attention of the god at all hours ('has he his hour of dying, when he does not hear?'); in the vicinity of the sacred hawks and ibises, with their respective solar and lunar connotations, such words become especially apt.

c. Possibly of Memphis, cf. Text 1, 2 and Text 13.

d. An unknown personage, possibly the one for whom the remedies were intended; for the name (Αμφιδωμης, Presigke, 28), cf. Fecht in *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 113.

e. Or any other third person pronoun.

f. A doubtful phrase, although any connection with *ῥ(γ)ῆ n Pr-ῥ* 'public auction' (cf. *Enchoria* 1 (1971), 79 ff.) is probably to be discounted.

Preliminary Remarks

This fragment records part of an appeal by Thoth from two twins, concerning the remedies to be offered to a sick man; the writers are urged to put their case into writing. All else is obscure, and even the relation of this text to the main archive is debatable.

TEXT 33

Height	13.8 cm.
Width	16.8 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 5/2
Photograph	Plate XXXII
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	H5-778 [2525]

The present text is in many ways the stranger

Baboon prompted the suggestion that the origin of these appeals may rather be sought at Saqqāra. It should certainly be noted that the writer of the 'Cruel Father' writes *wh's ms-n* instead of *mst-n*, a dialect form prevalent in Memphis.

to this volume. It was found late in 1968 by Emery near the surface of the southern end of the great temple platform, at a point opposite the entrance to the hawk-galleries discovered two seasons later (*JEA* 56 (1970), 11). Hence a hundred yards separated the ostrakon from the courtyard where the other texts lay. It may have reached this location by looting, for it was further along the route leading from the courtyard, find-spot of Texts 6, 10, and 21. It must be admitted that no internal evidence can be found to link the text with Hor of Sebennyos. Nevertheless, the information here, and its closeness to Texts 19–23, plead for its inclusion.¹

The sherd is of brownish ware, slightly curved, and complete save for the lower right-hand corner. The recto bears fifteen lines, with traces of a sixteenth. The verso is blank. The unidentified hand resembles that of the Sebennytic Hor rather than his Memphite namesake.

Text

1. *hst-sp 25 tpy iht sw 19.^a smy-i ht-ntr Wstr-
Hp (r) smn^b hp r-db; n; mdt*
2. *nty lw p; hb lw^c (n-lm-w) (n) t; chyt (n) ms
nty lw hn p; sl (n) Pr-c; tw-s*
3. *nry(i)wpy-f hr 3t ht-mdt hn-w. t; hrt (n) Pr-c;
[]^e wr ck (n) hrt*
4. *prh-s hr p; shn^d i-tr-hr p; hb. bn-lw p;
[hn 20]^e p; i-tr-shy*
5. *hwy drt-f^f hr-s tr nhy^g n-lm-s m-s; pry-s
swhy ck lw-f []^h*
6. *c; ck 3tⁱ mtw n; rmtw nty tr b; k wnm sm^j
hr p; shn i-tr-hr p; hb.*
7. *t; mh-2t.^k smn [mn-nlw^l] rmt-rh wbi p; hb
t; mst n-s^m p; hb*
8. *sr-mtw p; Rc htp lw-f hrh p; hb dit wdⁿ-fⁿ*
9. *t; mh-3t: i-tr D-hr-p; hb p; sdm-ck (n) n;
hbw cnh (n) Pr-c; tm dlt*
10. *try-w scy^o n-lm-s r t; chyt rn-s lw-s km^p cn.
dt D-hr-p; hb*

11. *p; cn-smy (n) t; s(n)lgsy^r nty lw-w dlt n-f
n-lm-s hr rnpt (n) rn Pr-c;*
12. *wbi p; ck-shn (n) p; hb mtw-f tr cnh (n)
Pr-c; cnh (n) p; ntr r sk^r*
13. *n]hy nty lw-f gm-f n-lm-w. n-drt hpr-f wih^r
p; mw try p; i (n) t; gyr^r lw-s*
14. *]^a p; spy nty wd n-lm-w wrt snht^r hr p; hb
hr p; tr^w*
15. *n]-drt hpr smy nr^r nty wih hry
dlt kd-w chyt*
16. *] (trace).*

Notes

- a. The 9 is short, but other readings are unconvincing.
- b. I can do no more with this group than to read *smn*(?) overlying some cult-title of the god.
- c. The divine determinative suggests *Dhwt*, but this is hardly acceptable. Other divine names are even less likely, and one is led to see here an awkward writing of the group (i)wn-n; joyless as this may seem.
- d. For the writing cf. Thompson, *PSBA* 35 (1913), *passim*; Mattha, *Ostraka*, *passim* (v. index). The translation 'table' offered below is conjectured from the word's use to indicate the Greek τράπεζα in the financial sense, and from the meanings of the earlier *shnt* 'support' (*Wb.* iii. 471).
- e. A very debatable group: the whole resembles *knbt* or *hn* more than any of the writings of *snt* listed in *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 150. I know of no masculine word from the root *knb*(t), and have therefore chosen *hn*. The word is shown by the context to be an administrative notion, for which *hn* (ϣνε) might be appropriate. The following numeral is very doubtful.
- f. For ϣ-τοοτϣ; cf. Crum, 734b.
- g. This same group recurs in l. 13 below. Its reading and meaning are not clear, although it bears a resemblance to the *nhy* (older *nhw*) of Erichsen, *Glossar*, 221.
- h. The traces perhaps suit *hs* (in the sense of 'consecrated'?), but are too faint for certainty.
- i. I can see no reason for the feminine numeral, although a similar miswriting occurs in Text 21, R^o 14.
- j. For such a writing of *s(y)m* cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 430; a very tempting reading, *wnm m-s* (in the sense of Coptic ϣϣωωα ϣεα) is rendered difficult by the joining of the *m-s*-like group to the previous sign.

¹ See also the introduction to Additional Text 61 below, p. 170.

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For clarification here, and in much of this text, I am very grateful to Professor J. W. B. Barns.

k. See the translation note to Text 10, R^o 1.

l. This group, though clear, defeats me. It is not convincing as a writing of *gl-kr*. The second element resembles most *lpt* 'assessment' (une); the first is more difficult. If it is a writing of *tn* as *participium conjunctum*, one must assume that the vertical stroke which follows is a rewriting of the opening of *lpt*, which had been obscured by the group above; it is unlikely as a form of *s-n* (can). I suggest *mn-nlwt*, the second element being the word for 'city'; the whole is a semi-phonetic writing for *mnt* (ἄνωγν) 'door-keeper, *bawudb*'.

m. This word, if correctly read, seems to have been written twice, the first attempt having met with failure.

n. The pronoun is rudimentary, but none other seems possible.

o. Cf. Text 8, R^o 17; the medial *rayin* may be an attempt to express the pronunciation coi.

p. This short group is strikingly obscure, and its reading offered *faute de mieux*.

q. A transliteration of σύνταξις, interestingly preserving the gender. For the omission of -n- before -t- cf. *3tyks*. A note on the word is contained in Mattha, *Ostraka*, 59-60; the present example seems to have abandoned any attempt to reproduce a Greek inflection.

r. These traces are too faint to inspire confidence; the reading given assumes that the initial s- has been rather awkwardly misshapen.

s. Although the writings of *hr* and *wsh* seem to be confused in this text (compare *hr-s* in l. 5; *hr p* *shn*, l. 6; *nt* *nty wsh*, l. 15), the latter seems a more likely reading before *p* *mw*; cf. in contrast, note *i* to Text 1, 2, p. 9 above.

t. Reading made difficult by the faintness of the initial sign. For *gyr/glw* (σπειλε) cf. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 589.

u. A mere determinative is visible, possibly a plural stroke.

v. The reading seems clear, although a feminine formation from this well-attested verb does not seem to occur elsewhere in demotic, or to have survived into Coptic.

w. This group is partly obscured by the signs extended down from l. 13, and by its position at the left edge of the sherd.

x. *t* is also a permissible reading. The same problem arises with the phrase *t/n* *nty try*, cf. note *u* to Text 2, R^o 13, p. 17 above.

Translation

1. Year 25, Thoth, day 19:^a I petitioned (in) the temple of Osorapis to ascertain(?) (the) law concerning the matters
2. in which the Ibis was deficient (in) the chapel (of) birth which is within the lake (of) Pharaoh.^b Behold
3. these things in (which) he^c gave judgement, comprising three utterances: the food (of) Pharaoh,^d namely(?) one loaf of food,
4. scatter it upon the table before the Ibis. The twenty(?) administrators(?) who possess authority will not
5. lay hands upon it (or) detract from it after its collection: a loaf which is consecrated(?)
6. (is) great(?) (as) three loaves:^e and the men who labour^f shall eat rations upon the table before the Ibis.
7. The second: Appoint a decent^h watchman(?)ⁱ over the Ibis (and) the offspring of the Ibis,
8. until the sun sets he shall guard the Ibis (and) keep him safe.
9. The third: Djehephibi^j the servant (of) the ibises made^k an oath (of) Pharaoh not to allow
10. a beam to be taken from it for the chapel named while it proceeds(?). Djehephibi gave
11. the report (of) the *syntaxis*^l which is given to him yearly (in) the name of Pharaoh
12. for the fortune (of) the Ibis, and made an oath (of) Pharaoh (and) an oath (of) the god to suppress
13. (any) loss which he discovers therein.^m When it happens (that) the water subsides,ⁿ take the 2/3 (of) the deposit which
14. [forms?] the remainder which is paid to them (as) one maintenance^o for the Ibis at the time.
15. [.....] when the petition occurs (of) the things laid down above, cause (the) chapel to be built
16. [.....].

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Notes

a. On the assumption that the unnamed sovereign is Philometor, this date corresponds to 19 October 157.

b. For the topography of the area, see Commentary below; this lake may well be that of Text 10, R^o 4, over which Isis was said to preside.

c. The construction is somewhat elliptical, although Osorapis is presumably the subject.

d. Doubtless a royal ration, perhaps financed from the subsidy mentioned in l. 11 below.

e. For these hypothetical characters see textual note above.

f. The syntax and significance of this clause have largely escaped me.

g. ερηωκ, Crum, 30a; the reference is presumably to the βιοβουκολ or to the masons (*by mnh*) of the galleries.

h. This sense of *rmt-rh* was communicated by Professor J. W. B. Barns.

i. See textual note.

j. Τεφιβις, Preisigke, 426; see note aa to Text 19, R^o 22, p. 75.

k. The use of the Second Present to emphasize the clause beginning with *tm dlt* makes it difficult to be sure of the absolute tense; I have taken this as preterite because of the following *sdm·f* and the end of l. 10.

l. For a brief description of this subsidy paid by the Ptolemies to the temples cf. Bevan, 187-8; the point that the σύνταξις which was paid was personal, even if issued in the first instance to the temple *en bloc*, is well brought out by the present lines.

m. Or possibly 'among them': the 'servants of the Ibis' who came under his control.

n. One might have expected this already to have happened at Memphis by 19 October, but an interval may have been allowed for reconstruction after the flooding; it may even be that the operation was deferred until Khoiak, when the calendrical season of inundation came to an end.

o. For the form of the word see textual note; the concept is of course familiar from the marriage-documents (Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge*, 317; Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* (Leiden, 1961), 104-8). Further discussion will be found in Thompson, *Siut*, 12, n. 8, cf. *JEA* 58 (1972), 263.

Preliminary Remarks

This text records a request submitted to Osorapis, as presiding god of the necropolis, by

an unnamed person; criticism has been applied to the Ibis (presumably by means of an oracle, unless the phrase is a euphemism for a censorious meeting of the council), and in particular to the 'chapel of birth', where the young birds were incubated and reared. Three immediate reforms are suggested, and the supervisor, Djehephibi, sworn to observe them; when these are carried through, the building of the chapel may be resumed. The connection of this document with the main archive, though likely, is quite unproven.

TEXT 34

Height	10.0 cm.
Width	23.7 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 4/4
Photograph	Plate XXXII
Facsimile	not given
Excavator's no.	71/2-123 [5391]

Two fragments of the rim and shoulder of a pink-ware bowl, inscribed with the date *hst-sp* 34t *ibd-4 prt* (or *šmw*) [*sw*.....]. If the reigning king is Philometor, these dates would fall either in about May or about September of the year 147. It is pleasant to imagine that we have here the remains of the jar in which the ostraca were kept, and that the date in 147 marks in some way the completion of the Hor archive; but there is no proof for this, or even for our assumption that the king is Philometor. Philadelphus (251) is a remote candidate; Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (136), or less likely Soter II (83), may also be borne in mind.

TEXT 35

Height	15.2 cm.
Width	10.3 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3

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Photograph
Facsimile
Excavator's no.

Plate XXXIII
not given
G7-46 [475]

37 and 38

(These may have belonged to the same text, but no join is observable.)

This brownish-ware sherd seems to consist of a drawing of a human head, perhaps a warrior, several curving lines vaguely resembling the calyx of a lotus, and illegible traces of a line of demotic. Its significance is not immediately grasped.

§ 6 : Fragments

(Some of these fragments may have noble pedigrees, and belong to the texts already published; others are certainly recensions of material already seen; several may perhaps have been relegated unfairly, being larger than some whole texts. Such possibilities are indicated where they occur.)

36

Height 21.8 cm.
Width 20.3 cm.
Thickness 0.9 cm.
Munsell 10 R 5/3 (interior 5 YR 5/1)
Photograph Plate XXXIII
Excavator's no. 71/2-160 [5428]

A large brownish ostrakon, deliberately erased in antiquity; traces survive on the recto of some twenty-one lines, perhaps more. The fourth line seems to have begun with *n-drt Hr nty hr Mn-nfr(?)*, and the lines above this may perhaps have been continuations of the bottom line. *Pr-r* is clearly visible at the end of l. 16(?), and the previous line begins with *wn-nr-w sh t3 šrt*, a phrase reminiscent of Text 3, V° 18. The remains of the hand and the reed show a distinct resemblance to Text 4, and we may conclude by attributing the present text to this group. The verso is blank.

37

Height 5.6 cm.
Width 8.7 cm.
Thickness 0.8 cm.
Munsell 5 YR 5/3
Photograph Plate XXXIV
Excavator's no. 71/2-185 [5453]

A small sherd of fine brown ware. The verso is blank.

Text

x+1.] (trace)^a *tw-i šms Pr-Wstr-Hp t3 nty t3y* [
2.] (traces) *Pr-r P* [
3.] (traces) *t3 Pr-rst* [
4.] (traces) *Pr-tr* [^b
5.] (traces) [.

Notes

- a. Trace suits *mn*.
b. Perhaps *r-bl Pr-tr-'Imn*.

Translation

x+1.] I served the Serapeum: that which concerns [
2.]
Pharaoh P[tolemy]
3.] (the)
Queen [
4.]
Pelusium [
5.]
.....[.

38

Height 5.4 cm.
Width 5.6 cm.
Thickness 0.8 cm.
Munsell 5 YR 5/3
Photograph Plate XXXIV
Excavator's no. 71/2-186 [5454]

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Text

- x+1.] *nfr hty^a* [
 2.] *twf hpr* [
 3.] *ty (r) K[my*
 4.] *rw (n) ms m-šs^b* [
 5.] *p^c hp* [
 6.] *mdt* [.

Notes

- a. No suffix pronoun is visible.
 b. See note to Text 1, 17.

Translation

- x+1.] gracious (of) heart [
 2.] it happened [
 3.] came (to) E[gypt
 4.] exceedingly great (in) age [
 5.] the law [
 6.] matter(?) [.

The hand of both ostraca seems to be that of the Memphite Hor.

39-44

(These six ostraca also seem to belong together, but do not join. They are listed in the order of their excavator's numbers.)

39

Height	6.1 cm.
Width	7.4 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XXXIV
Excavator's no.	71/2-183 [5451]

An ostrakon of brownish ware. The verso is blank. A space precedes the first line, which suggests that we may have here a portion of the beginning of the text.

Text

1.] ** nty twf hpr wrt mdt^b* [

2.] *ty hty^c* [
 3.] *mdt nbt* [.

Notes

- a. A lotus(?) determinative is visible: perhaps *hb*(?)
 b. A long horizontal line follows.
 c. Cf. Text 3, V^o 16, and note, p. 24.

Translation

1.] which shall happen: one matter
 [
 2.] the portal (?) [
 3.] every matter [.

40

Height	9.8 cm.
Width	10.6 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XXXIV
Excavator's no.	71/2-184 [5452]

At this point of the text the scribe's pen was clearly failing; it has been refilled at the end of l. 5.

Text

- x+1.] (trace) [
 2.] *šm-f r-bl Kmy* [
 3.] *(n) hty^a tw st-f* [
 4.] *hpr n-lm-f trm pty-f sn hr* [
 5.] *tw-f* [*]^b ht-mdt st* [*]^c*
pty-w hr [
 6.] (traces) *nt-r* (traces) [
 7.] (traces) [.
 (other lines probably followed)

Notes

- a. See note to Text 2, R^o 11; the phrase *hb-w* is supposed.
 b. Too faint for certain reading.
 c. Entirely lost.

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42

Translation

- x+1.] [
 2.] he left Egypt^a [
 3.] in haste:^b his back(?) [
 4.] happened to him and his brother:^c for [
 5.] he utterance: they
 their life(?) [
 6.] great
 [
 7.] (traces) [.

Notes

- a. Probably a reference to Antiochus (Text 2, 3, 4).
 b. The context suggests a letter, perhaps to the
 Pharaohs (Text 2).
 c. Philometor and Ptolemy the Brother (Text 2, 3).

41

Height 3.3 cm.
 Width 5.2 cm.
 Thickness 0.7 cm.
 Munsell 5 YR 5/3
 Photograph Plate XXXIV
 Excavator's no. 71/2-187 [5455]

A sherd excerpted from the middle of a text.

Text

- x+1.] (traces)^a hb [
 2.] Rr-kd dd tw [
 3.] ^b hr rnpt [
 4.] snt [.

Notes

- a. These may suit sy/py t; mdt *ta (Text 3, V° 15),
 but are very indistinct.
 b. Traces may suit hn, but no suffix is visible.

Translation

- x+1.] sent [
 2.] Alexandria, saying [
 3.] among(?) yearly [
 4.] custom [.

Height 3.7 cm.
 Width 5.4 cm.
 Thickness 0.8 cm.
 Munsell 5 YR 5/3
 Photograph Plate XXXIV
 Excavator's no. 71/2-188 [5456]

Sherd largely defaced.

Text

- x+1.] p' sn [
 2.] [
 3.] [
 4.] (traces) [
 5.] twf hf [.

No reliable translation is possible.

43

Height 5.6 cm.
 Width 3.7 cm.
 Thickness 0.8 cm.
 Munsell 5 YR 5/3
 Photograph Plate XXXIV
 Excavator's no. 71/2-189 [5457]

This sherd, like 39 above, seems to belong to
 the upper line of a text.

Text

1.] Mn-nfr lrm ^a [
 2.] ^b n; ntrw wn-n;w [
 3.] r-db; [
 4.] nb [.

Notes

- a. p'ryf or n'ryf(?); cf. Text 24A, 4.
 b. Determinative visible.

Translation

1.] Memphis and its(?) [
 2.] the gods (who) were [
 3.] concerning [
 4.] all(?) [.

44

Height	3.6 cm.
Width	2.1 cm.
Thickness	0.7 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	71/2-190 [5458]

Text

- x+1.] (trace)
 2.] s^a [
 3.] *bn-iw* [.

Note

- a. End of a foreign, doubtless Greek name.
 (No connected translation possible.)

The original text probably dealt with the events of 168.

45

Height	12.3 cm.
Width	9.6 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	71/2-192 [5460]

A fine sherd of red ware, with the final sections of nine lines, clearly written in the hand of the Memphite secretary. The fifth line shows signs of erasure. The verso is blank.

Text

- x+1.] *r-dbr dlt*
 2.] *dlt tr-w p; nty nfr-f (n) p; rš-shn (n) p; hb*
 3.] (insertion)^a *p; myt r dlt wd; p; y-f chr.*
 4.] *3st n-drt-f r-dbr-s t; ht-mdt rn-s*
 5.] *lrm na^b p; hr-tb 'lrt-w-r-w (s) sp-sm^c*
 6.] *P]r-Dhwti r-hn p; tr tw-w wbs^d*
 7.] *ht t; y (t) wpy-s hr*
 8.] *r; tw-f twt-k^e lrm*
 9.] (trace).

Notes

- a. The main sign may represent *tr-w* or, more likely, *rmt*, followed by what seems to be a space-filler; but I cannot claim to have understood its purpose.
 b. A reading made difficult by the preceding stroke.
 c. Written over an erasure, and consequently uncertain.
 d. The reading is confused by the palimpsest.
 e. A somewhat eccentric and archaic writing, if correctly interpreted.

Translation

- x+1.] in order to give
 2.] cause to be performed that which is beneficial (to) the fortune (of) the Ibis
 3.] (insertion) the path^a to cause his life to prosper.
 4.] Isis with him concerning it: the utterance named
 5.] with those(?) of the magician Iturōw (son of) the same
 6.] *P]i(?)*-Thoth until this hour, they being concerned with
 7.] namely, this (which) she judged: for
 8.] great, he being between(?) you and
 9.] (trace).

Note

- a. The same metaphor as in Text 16, R^a 4-5; 17, 14-15.

The relation of this fragment to the main archive is clear from the language, and the mention of *Pi(?)*-Thoth in l. 6; a judgement of Isis seems also to be described.

46

Height	7.6 cm.
Width	11.1 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	7.5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	71/2-193 [5461]

An ostrakon of fine light-brown ware of considerable thickness. The convex recto is entirely

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blank, though whether because uninscribed or as the result of natural elements is not clear; the verso is in parts desurfaced. The hand resembles that of Hor of Sebennytos.

Text

- x+1.] (trace) [
 2.] *ny rh* [
 3.] *ny Mtpr* [
 4.] *ms* [] *nty hry st* [
 5.] *dl-t-s n-f (n) sh rmt (n) Kmy* [
 6.] *r-w (n) p: sh* ^b [
 7.] (traces) *gyr* [
 8.] (traces) [
 9.] (traces) [.

Notes

- a. Apparently a foreign name.
 b. The last signs resemble a sum of money, but are too indistinct for certainty.

Translation

- x+1.] (trace) [
 2.] these know [
 3.] these (?) *Mtpr* [
 4.] birth which is above:^a
 they [
 5.] I gave it to him (in) writing of the
 Egyptian(s)^b [
 6.] to them again(?): the writing
 [
 7.] (traces) deposit(?) [
 8.] (traces) [
 9.] (traces) [.

Notes

- a. Very reminiscent of Text 26, R^o 3.
 b. See note to Demotic Text B, 3, p. 5 above.

The fragment seems to record financial transactions, and an unidentified *Mtpr*; a 'chapel of birth' may have been under consideration (see note a above), but the sherd also bears certain

resemblances to Text 11. It seems difficult to offer a clearer interpretation.

47

Height	8.3 cm.
Width	4.9 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	10 YR 7/4
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	71/2-194 [5462]

The recto of this reddish-ware sherd has suffered from the action of salt; the verso is entirely illegible, although it was clearly once inscribed.

Text

- x+1.] *est 3st irm-w*^a
 2.] *lw-s msc hr*
 3.] *p: mwo (n) p: ym*
 4.] ^b *nwo nry*
 5.] *bn-lw-f*
 6.] ^c *p: r:*
 7.] *hr t: ht[-mdt.*
 (other lines followed).

Notes

- a. Altered from *irm-s*.
 b. The final -r of *Hr* may be visible.
 c. A divine determinative remains: *Dhwt* possible, but not certain.

Translation

- x+1.] the great [goddess] Isis among them
 2.] walking upon [the face (of)]
 3.] the water (of) the sea (of)
 4.] Syria (?). There sees this
 5.] he shall not
 6.] Thoth (?) the great
 7.] in the utterance [.

The upper lines are clearly almost complete, and the text related the dream of Isis recorded in Text 1.

48

Height	4.3 cm.
Width	4.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	71/2-195 [5463]

A small sherd of red-slipped ware, with recto blank; the verso bears the openings of three lines and a trace of a fourth, written across the grain of the sherd. The hand seems to be that of the Memphite Hor.

Text

1. *n-drt sh tš Hr nty hr* [*Mn-nfr* *r-dbt dlt*
ir-w]
2. *pṛ nty nfr f(n) pṛ rš-shn* [*pṛ hb* *ht tm dlt ḥk*]
3. *mdt (n) tṛ nty tṛy* [
4.] (trace)^a [

Note

- a. Slightly resembles *m-bḥ*.

Translation

1. From the scribe of the nome,^a Hor who is in [Memphis concerning causing to be performed]
2. that which is beneficial (to) the fortune [of the Ibis namely, not to detract from a]
3. matter (in) that which concerns [*etc.*^b]
4.] (trace) [.

Notes

- a. For a similar abbreviation see perhaps Text 23, R^o 1.

b. Restored from similar phrases in the ibis-memoranda; the lacunas represent other phrases (*pṛ blk*, etc.), according to the length of the ostrakon.

The relation of this fragment to the ibis-texts is evident.

49 and 50

(Two small fragments of an extensive text, written on the verso with a new reed).

49

Height	7.1 cm.
Width	3.9 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	(V ^o) 5 YR 4/2
	(R ^o) 2.5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate XXXV
Excavator's no.	G7-30 [459]

Four lines of text are visible; the space beneath the fourth suggests that the end of the ostrakon had been reached.

Text

- x+1.]*w nty tw (n) nṛ* []*w^a* [
 2.] *nty tw hf-w^b*
 3. *mdt* (n) *tṛ nty tṛy tṛ hrt* [
 4.] ^c *n-tm-w bn-pw-k* (trace) [
 (A space follows).

Notes

- a. The word is difficult to identify, but cf. perhaps Text 16, R^o 10-11.
 b. This line cancelled with a bold stroke.
 c. The determinative suits *nw*, among others.

Translation

- x+1.]s which are (in) the [
 2.] [[which(?) they have plundered]]
 3. matter] (in) that which concerns the food [
 4.] them: you have not [.

The text seems to have described the neglect of the ibis-sanctuary.

50

Height	5.6 cm.
Width	1.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-196 [5464]

The endings of five lines from the same(?) text as the preceding.

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Text

- x+1.] *nfr:f*
2.] *lrm*
3. *rn*] *pt* 35
4.] (trace)^a
5.] *nty rk*
6.] (trace?).

Note

- a. *Pr-~~it~~* is a possibility, followed by a space-filler.

Translation

- x+1.] is beneficial(?)
2.] with(?)
3.] 35 years
4.] (trace)
5.] who enter*
6.] (trace?)

Note

- a. Cf. perhaps Text 25, 6.

The mention of years in line x+3 suggests that Hor is describing his loyal service.

51-5

Five small fragments of reddish-brown ware, perhaps all from the same text. The versos are blank, and the hand is probably that of the Memphite Hor.

51

Height	4.0 cm.
Width	4.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-221 [5489]

Text

- x+1.] *tw-s sm* [
2.] *my^a hr* [
3.] *t (vacat)* [
4.] *hr* [
5.] *hr* [
6.] *hr* [
7.] *hr* [
8.] *hr* [
9.] *hr* [
10.] *hr* [
11.] *hr* [
12.] *hr* [
13.] *hr* [
14.] *hr* [
15.] *hr* [
16.] *hr* [
17.] *hr* [
18.] *hr* [
19.] *hr* [
20.] *hr* [
21.] *hr* [
22.] *hr* [
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24.] *hr* [
25.] *hr* [
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27.] *hr* [
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275.] *hr* [
276.] *hr* [
277.] *hr* [
278.] *hr* [
279.] *hr* [
280.]

Note

- a. Possibly *Kmy*.
Translation is far from certain.

52

Height	3.4 cm.
Width	1.9 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-222 [5490]

Text

- x+1.] *try-w kər* [st
2.] *n-lm-w ty* [
3.] *n-lm-w* [.

Translation

- x + 1.] their buri[al
2.] them: came [
3.] them [.

53

Height	3.5 cm.
Width	2.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-223 [5491]

Text

- x+1.] *ik t/n* [
 2. [(ink smudged) [
 3.] *smn* [
 Translation uncertain.

54

Height	7.2 cm.
Width	4.9 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-224 [5492]

(In two pieces, joined).

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Text

- x+1.] *n-lm-s dd tw-s* [
 2.] *dd n-i whr* [
 3.] *r-w* (vacat) [
 4.] *try n p: t:* [
 5.] *bn-pw-f mdt* [
 6.] *p: t-tr hb n-lm-t* [
 7.] *st* [
 8.] (trace) [.

Translation

- x+1.] her,^a saying, she^a is [
 2.] said to me [
 3.] to them. [
 4.] this on earth(?) [
 5.] he(?) did not speak [
 6.] he who sent me(?) [
 7.] they(?) [
 8.] (trace) [.

Note

- a. Alternatively 'it', antecedent uncertain.

55

Height	3.5 cm.
Width	5.0 cm.
Thickness	0.5 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	71/2-225 [5493]

Text

- x+1.] *my* [
 2.] *n: nty sn ht snt* [
 3.] *dd n-i p: wrb hn* [
 4.] *t: mdt t-tr* [
 5.] (traces) [.

Translation

- x+1.] may [
 2.] those who investigate, namely the custom [
 tom [

3.] said to me the priest within [
 4.] the matter which [
 5.] (traces) [.

These fragments, which seem to conform to the type of the ibis-memoranda, bear a close resemblance to Text 30, of which they may even be part. Fragment 54 seems to refer to *Hrynys*, and his dispatching *Hor* to Alexandria (Text 2, 3).

56

Height	17.5 cm.
Width	18.3 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	G7-33 [462]

A large ostrakon of fine brown ware, bearing on the recto traces of some twenty-five(?) lines, all erased in antiquity. The verso is blank. The text may have begun with the words **n-drt Hr nty hn* []; l. 4 commences with *tw-f hsc*, and the clear ending of a later line in *bn-tw-k* shows that the original was addressed to a second person. The rest is conjecture.

57

Height	3.6 cm.
Width	3.6 cm.
Thickness	1.25 cm.
Munsell	7.5 YR 7/4
Photograph	Plate XXXVI
Excavator's no.	G7-34 [463]

A small buff-ware sherd of surprising thickness. The slightly convex recto bears faint traces, *tw-f(?)* being the least so; the verso carries three lines, the middle reading *p:ys wih* 'her interpretation'. The evidence of Text 9, V^o 7 suggests that the original may have treated the goddess Isis.

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58

Height	15.0 cm.
Width	11.0 cm.
Thickness	1.0 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVII
Excavator's no.	H6-62 [1388]

So much doubt attaches itself to this ostrakon that it has been left until the end. Of reddish-brown ware, the sherd seems to have borne some thirteen lines on the recto; the verso is quite blank. These lines have been so erased that scarcely anything remains to be read. At the beginning of l. 2, *rmt dmi-(n)-3st* seems tolerably

clear, and the name *Hr* may have stood before this. The link with the main archive, in spite of the separate provenance by the main temple, would then be clear, and the traces suggest that the text began with the second line, the first being only the conclusion and continuation of l. 13. The contents of the ostrakon are of course far from clear: *tw-t* in the centre of l. 10 reveals a first person narrative, and *ny* (possibly *r-bw-ny*) in l. 11, and *p-t (n) Pr-Wstr* (apparently not *Wstr-Hp*) in the twelfth are still legible. Line 3 may have begun with **tw-t w-t n*, *ssw*, and the faint traces of **krs* in l. 7 may suggest a link with the ibis-texts translated above. All else is beyond recall.

III. THE COMMENTARIES

§ 1 : The career of Ḥor

THE arrangement of the texts in the previous part of this volume is quite arbitrary, and the broad classes into which the ostraca are divided are very crude, the more so as many obviously refer to the whole experience of their author. In this rough pattern it is clear that the reader will lose much; to clarify the picture, and above all to construct a plausible chronology, is the only purpose of these Commentaries. To say that they are incomplete, preliminary, and unadorned is unnecessary, except to save them from being credited with an authority to which they do not lay claim.

Very little can be seen of the early life of the central character, Ḥor of Sebennytyos. The name of his father, Ḥarendjiōtef, is given clearly in one passage,¹ and in another five which are too obscure to be given in evidence. Of this man's life we are told nothing. The date of Ḥor's birth is similarly missing; from the sequence of years given to us in the main archive, it may be conjectured that he was born about 200 B.C. If the statement of Text 5A, 4, that in 165 he had already served in Ḥepnēbes for twenty-five years is correctly understood,² he may have been older, for his career was already advanced when he came to Memphis.

In Text 1, 1 Ḥor describes himself as a man of *Pr-Dḥwtj*, Pi(?)*-Thoth*, a locality which Text 28, 3 seems to situate in the Sebennytyc nome. This designation is not his commonest, and this distinction must be awarded instead to the *Dml-n-3st* with which in Texts 2, 7, 26, 27, and 29 he is associated. This 'town of Isis'

would, however, seem to be the Ἰσιος πόλις of the Greek Texts,³ where Ḥor is said to have been employed as a pastophoros, and this fact, together with the more intimate associations given to Pi(?)*-Thoth* in Text 8, R^o 19 and in Texts 9 and 10, lead one to the belief that the latter was his birthplace. I cannot find the locality named elsewhere, but an uneasy suspicion that Pi(?)*-Thoth* would pass into Greek as Ἑρμοῦ πόλις propels us unwillingly into the meshy problems of the Egyptian Hermopolis. Stephanus of Byzantium (quoted in Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, 171) follows Herodian in ascribing no less than five towns of the name to the area of Egypt: one 'the great', which a consensus of opinion would place in the great site of Ashmunein, with its necropolis Tûna-el-Gebel in Middle Egypt (cf. Text 28, 12), 'the small', or Hermopolis Parva, a third surprisingly described as 'near Egypt', a fourth near Thmuis, and a fifth 'in the river'. If we discount the third, perhaps an oasis site,⁴ we are left with three other towns of this name, and may pass to the account of Strabo, who locates the same number in the Delta. One is said to be on an island near Butus (XVII, 18, end), a second is unqualified, but mentioned after Xoïs and in conjunction with Lycopolis and Mendes (ibid. 19) while a third (ibid. 22) is situated on the riverine route from Schedia to Memphis, where it is said to precede Gynaecopolis and Momemphis. The last has frequently been compared with Damanhûr (Ball, loc. cit., although Gardiner, *AEO*, ii. 196* seems to prefer the charms of the island near Buto). This identification is followed by A. Bernand (*Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*,

¹ Text 19, R^o 1, in the spelling *Ḥr-n-drt-f*.

² See note *ad locum*.

³ Greek Texts C, 2; E, 6.

⁴ A site in Bahriya oasis is a possibility, for extensive ibis-

cemeteries are known there, cf. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, ii, Ch. 4 and pls. XII-XXIII; the site itself is given as Karet el-Faragi.

i, third part, 515-50), who finally follows Gardiner and Wilcken in seeing in Hermopolis and *Dml-n-Hr* (cf. *JEA* 30 (1944), 35-6) two adjoining towns, or suburbs, which eventually coalesced and were named after the latter. There we may with some relief leave them. The 'small' Hermopolis of Stephanus of Byzantium may well be identical with this conurbation.

The second Hermopolis seems located in the central Delta, and its counterpart might plausibly be seen in the ancient *Bṛh*, modern Tell Baqlīya. This city, well attested, might seem a good candidate for our Pi(?) - Thoth (the dual name need not be a serious problem), were it not for the clear fact that Hermopolis-Baqlīya in the Ptolemaic period formed an entirely separate nome from Sebennytyos.¹ Even if some political union were recognized, it is surely unlikely that a native of Baqlīya would consistently refer to himself as 'scribe of the nome of Sebennytyos'. Much interest therefore centres upon the final candidate, the island near Buto (Būtus). The location of Buto at the modern Tell el-Farāʿīn was already proposed by Hogarth ('Three North Delta nomes', in *JHS* 24 (1904), 2 ff.). A canal, under the name of the Θερμουθιακὸς ποταμός, marked in Roman (post-Hadrianic) times the boundary between the Boutite (Phthenetic) and Lower Sebennytyc nomes; that the latter corresponded to what in the Ptolemaic period was called more simply *pṛ tš n Tb-ntr* is shown by the Satrap Stela, 14-15 (*AEO* ii. 195*).

¹ The bibliography on Hermopolis-Baqlīya is extensive: Naville, *Ahmas-el-Medineh*, 22-6; Daressy in *ASAE* 13 (1913), 179-85 and *ASAE* 30 (1930), 69 ff.; Habachi, *ASAE* 53 (1953), 441-80; Montet, *Géographie*, i. 137 ff., and Gardiner, *AEO* ii. 195*. The most recent discussion seems to be A.-P. Zivie, 'Hermopolis-El-Baqliéh et le nome de l'ibis', *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sci. Relig.* 79 (1971-2), 491-4.

² It is true that a place-name ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉ/ⲧⲟⲩⲓⲧ is mentioned in the trilingual list of Bishoprics as lying somewhere in this area, but even on the assumption that such a pagan name as *Pr-Dhwti* had been allowed to survive into Coptic, there are serious philological obstacles to the identification.

³ The following identifications are therefore proposed for the five Hermopolis of Stephanus of Byzantium:

A town upon an island, or on the east bank of this canal might well have been included in the Sebennytyc nome. Several mounds in this area are mentioned by Hogarth, notably Kha-wâlid (Phragonis?) and Haddâdi, but there are no grounds for identifying any of these with our *Pr-Dhwti*.² It is upon such a site, nevertheless, that we are tempted to place Ḥor at the beginning of his career; the proximity of Buto (*Pr-Wḏyt*) to his home town is clearly suggested in Text 10. In this connection it should be remembered that the great Litany of Oxyrhynchus mentions a Ἑρμοῦ πόλει which lay near Iseum and Sebennytyos, but the reading is not too certain (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, xi. 208, note); this is unfortunate, as the context is very apt.³

We next encounter Ḥor employed at *Dml-n-3st*, 'the town-of-Isis', another locality in the nome of Sebennytyos.⁴ The Greek Texts C and E describe him as a pastophoros of Isis in the temple there, and Text 26, which also seems to refer to events at Temenēsi, shows him involved in the affairs of an *chyt n ms* attached to an ibiscult in the town. Other priests of Isis (Text 26, R° 12 and Text 31A, 3-4) seem also to have been concerned with these affairs, and it is possible that the three writers of Text 31 were his early colleagues; if this idea is correct, the purpose of the text may well have been to supply testimony of his good conduct. It is doubtless during this time that the training took place which gave Ḥor some of his knowledge of

a. Hermopolis 'the great' (*Magna*), at Ashmunein (*Hmmw*) in Middle Egypt.

b. 'The small' (*Parva*), perhaps at or near Damanhūr.

c. 'Hermopolis near Egypt', in Bahriya Oasis(?).

d. 'Hermopolis near Thmuis', at Baqlīya (*Bṛh*, *Wmṛ mhty*).

e. 'Hermopolis on the river', *Pr-Dhwti* in the nome of Sebennytyos.

b is probably the third Hermopolis of Strabo, on the riverine route from Schedia to Memphis; d is his second, near Xoia and Mendes, while his first site, the island near Buto, will be our e, and the *Pr-Dhwti* of Ḥor. For more information about *Pr-Dhwti* see Add. Text 59 below (pp. 167-9).

⁴ For detailed references see Index, and the note to Text 2, R° 2, p. 19, where the possibility of an equation with Iseum (Behbeit el-Hagār) is discussed, and left open.

Middle Egyptian idiom (Text 18, *passim*); how he acquired his somewhat dubious Greek (*JEA* 54 (1968), 204) is less certain.

Great obscurity now begins to surround his career. The only certain fact, indeed, is that he later appears at Memphis and attaches himself to the sanctuary of the Ibis at Saqqâra. His links with Temenēsi, however, are never completely broken, and even Text 29, written in the thirtieth year of Philometor (152/1), describes him still as a citizen of the town. It is likely, however, that when he left Temenēsi he would have abandoned his role of *pastophoros*, and this may well be the reason that none of the demotic texts repeats his Greek title. Some reasons will be given in the Appendix below for a suspicion that Ḳor's position at Saqqâra was that of a *κέρτοχος*. If this belief is correct, he may well have regarded his residence in Memphis as incidental; indeed, it is possible that Temenēsi (Isiospolis) remained his legal place of registration (τόπος). Whatever the truth, it is evident from his signatures that he never ceased to regard himself as a man of Sebennytos.

Text 26 shows that while serving at Isiospolis he became involved in a dispute concerning the food of the ibises, and incurred the censure of the god Thoth. Quarrelsomeness seems to have been marked in his disposition, but we are not told whether this incident prompted his departure; indeed the tenor of several other texts makes it clear that he was already being assailed by divine visitations, and he seems to be at pains to demonstrate that it was the will of the gods which for ever directed his steps.

In the later 170s the great reforms were instituted in the ibis-shrine of North Saqqâra, which we find recorded in Texts 19–22. In their surviving form, these ostraca are clearly dictated by Ḳor, and the impression given is that he was present (in some capacity) at the deliberations; there is no compelling reason, however, to believe that he was in Memphis permanently at

such an early period, and the texts may well be retrospective drafts, designed to add the background information for a history of the ibis-cult. Clearer information comes from Text 18, which shows him on 10 July 171 invoking a dream; the setting, with its references to Imḥōtep (V° 2–3, 15) and Ḳankhtawy (V° 3, 7; R° 1) is that of the Memphite necropolis. The gods summoned are legion, and it is not easy to determine the particular shrine in which the dream was elicited, but the desire to seek the prognostications of the gods is a characteristic of Ḳor throughout these years.

Political events were already on the turn: the policies of Eulaeus and Lenaeus had prevailed, and in October/November 170 the joint reign was proclaimed in Alexandria (*Skeat, JEA* 47 (1961), 108). Within a month the Egyptian army was defeated, and Philometor in the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes. The history of the Sixth Syrian War, and of Ḳor's part therein, will be discussed in the next section; here only a few personal events will be noted. By 18 May 169, the date given in Text 10, we find that he has taken himself, or been taken by the course of the war, to the Delta, where at Buto and back in his native Pi(?)–Thoth, he writes short *proskynemata* to Isis; the final lines, emphasizing the protection afforded by the goddess to those who turn to her, seem appropriate to such an unsettled time. One purpose of these, and perhaps similar unrecorded, addresses may well have been to obtain dreams of encouragement while the Seleucid occupation of Egypt continued. One such sign of encouragement, in all probability addressed to Philometor, occurs on the verso of Text 12, which by internal consideration may possibly have been written early in 168, perhaps even in the short interlude before Antiochus' second invasion, when the joint reign seems to have been reinstituted. The 'prophet of Isis' referred to in this brief text as having quelled apprehension may possibly be Ḳor, but as he

nowhere else bears this title, it is equally likely to represent an official of the goddess to whom he had turned for oracular advice. The direct address to Pharaoh, however, suggests strongly that Ḥor of Sebennytyos had already acquired a considerable reputation as a seer, and had begun his habit of communicating with Philometor. This communication reached its peak with the audience in the Alexandrian Serapeum which took place on 29 August 168 (Text 2, R° 12; V° 4-12), when Ḥor read out before his sovereigns his prophecy of the salvation of Alexandria and all its people.

The fortunes of Ḥor in the years immediately following are unclear; unclear too is the reaction of Pharaoh to his ministrations. By 2 December 166, Ḥor seems to be at Heliopolis, again commenting upon political events (Text 5, 1-2), and in the year preceding this (167/6) we must date the important Text 9. Here (R° 2) he describes himself as 'agent' in the chapel of Pi(?) - Thoth, a town to which he may well have returned after the cessation of hostilities. A dream is interpreted by the goddess Isis: he will go permanently to Memphis, and shall die there. It seems characteristic of Ḥor of Sebennytyos that such a profound change in his life should be augured by a divine revelation, and equally typical that he should record the information for later reference. The episode in Heliopolis described in Text 5 may possibly have been a stage on his inspired journey.

The prophecy of Isis makes mention only of the Serapeum, and we are ignorant of the process by which Ḥor came to settle amid the temples of the ibis-cult. His previous experiences would doubtless have helped determine the matter, as well might his reputation, but it is clear that from 166 the centre of his attentions is no longer Isis, but the god Thoth. The testimony of Text 31, if rightly understood, similarly suggests that his service to Isis came to an

end in about 165. It is appropriate, therefore, to date here Text 8, which records dreams experienced on the great festival of the moon-god (12 Thoth 166/5?). The significance of the first dream is that he is to devote himself exclusively to the worship of Thoth, and the conclusion of both dreams that his sustenance in life, and eventual burial, boons once guaranteed to him by Isis, are now in the bestowal of the ibis-deity.

Whether or not by this dream Ḥor undertook the strict vows of a *κότοχος*,¹ the latter part of his life lacks much of the earlier incident. At some point in the continuing joint reign, in short before May 163, he reports to the Pharaohs another augury in which Isis offers a healing remedy for the Queen. It is to be regretted that so much of this ostrakon (Text 28) is obscured beyond recall, but it is notable that he continues to call himself a man of Pi(?) - Thoth (*ibid.* 3). Also during this period must be placed the interpretation of an oracle covering the sanctuaries of the Ibis (Text 16), an interpretation obtained from the magician of Imḥōtep (Text 17A, 3-10); the following 13 June seems to have witnessed the communication of this interpretation to the competent authority (Text 22, R° 2-3), but the details of this oracle need not detain us here.²

The critical events which marked the end of the joint reign seem to have left little impression upon our texts. After the re-establishment of Philometor as sole ruler and his great *φιλόανθρωπος* of 17 August 163 (Louvre 63; cf. Bevan, 291) the king visited the Serapeum (October 163; Bevan, 292), and in all probability Ḥor of Sebennytyos may have witnessed the festivities; but none of our documents sees fit to refer to the occasion. Indeed, a second period of obscurity now falls upon the career of Ḥor, unbroken until the events referred to at the beginning of Text 1. During much of this time we may picture him as acting as scribe or secretary for the affairs of

¹ See Appendix 3 below.

² They are discussed in § 4 below.

the ibis-cult. We are at least told (Text 1, 1-2) that he had become accustomed to dividing his time between the sanctuary of Osorapis at Memphis and that of his counterpart Osor-mnevis at Heliopolis; what is not disclosed, however, is the length of time that this habit had continued. Nevertheless, on 31 May 159 he is in Heliopolis, and informs us that he had arrived in the city at some time in the previous January (ibid., l. 5); he had left the instruments of his scribal profession in Memphis, and was seeking instruction from the priest of Imhōtep, for a dream experienced upon his arrival had told him to lay his experiences in writing 'before the great men' (ibid., l. 5). We may only guess at the reasons for his curiosity; the eventual birth of an heir to Philometor, foreshadowed in his dream of 168, may have given a fillip to his mantic powers,¹ or it may be that difference of opinion between Ḥor and the 'great men' (the temple authorities) had impelled him to seek divine encouragement. Whatever the truth, we find that in the December of 159 he obtained an audience with [So]terion(?) the *basilikos grammateus* at Memphis. To this highest authority for temple affairs he explains in detail his dream of 168 (ibid., l. 6); the fact that this information is contained in a memorandum (*mkmk*) suggests strongly that it was recorded to provide evidence for a legal dispute. It is of course difficult to determine the exact date of this dispute, or its terms and outcome, and the entire text may be greatly retrospective. Ignorance of such matters need not prevent us from consulting Text 4, which seems to provide confirmatory evidence of Ḥor's divinatory powers, written, we are told, by the important general *Hrynys*, who had supported his activities during the war of 168 (Text 4, 1-2); we may suspect that this document too would have been cited in evidence at some stage in his disputing.

The summer of 158 was an important one for

¹ This possibility is elaborated in § 2 below.

Egypt, and for the Serapeum in particular. Apollonios, brother of the *κότοχος* Ptolemaios, himself joined his brother in the House of Osorapis, and his quarrel with the sons of Djehebēs must have provided much gossip among its population.² Stirring, too, would have been the news of the public proclamation of Ptolemy Eupator, and his appointment as eponymous priest of Alexander, and, as autumn approached, the preparation for the second visit of Philometor, on the tour of state which was to extend to distant Philae. It is indeed in the culmination of such excitement that one is tempted to place Text 3, a birthday greeting to Philometor (whose *γενέθλια* fell so auspiciously on the feast day of Thoth), and a confirmation of the survival of his line (R° 8-9; V° 1-2). Yet this text is no mere encomium, for it incorporates in the verso a tactfully re-edited account of Text 2, recalling Ḥor's role in the war with Antiochus, but suppressing all reference to the joint reign and to the embarrassing Ptolemy 'the Brother'. Doubtless this was done in the hope of securing the goodwill of Pharaoh to the cause.

Once again it becomes difficult to follow Ḥor's activities. The strange dream of Text 13 is recorded for 10 March 155, after two days of supplication to the Ibis, but it is not an easy matter to explain; the entire text is perhaps best taken merely as evidence that Ḥor continued upon his path of incubation.

It is not until the later 150s that the significance of the majority of our texts becomes clearer. We have already seen that several of the ostraca appear to have been written in a Memphite hand, and its author now makes himself known to us. In Texts 16, R° 1 and 17, 1, he describes himself fully as 'Ḥor who is concerned with the petition of the chapels of Egypt', and elsewhere he appears briefly as Ḥarthoth (probably 'Horus (of the god) Thoth') (Texts 12, R° 1; 19, R° 4 (?); 30, 1) while in Text 23, V° 15

² As indeed for Reich, *Misraim*, i (1933), 147 ff.

he is 'H̄or (of) Thoth, lord of life'. The general nature of the texts in his hand, notably 12, 16, 17, 25, and the verso of 23, together with the obvious competence of his script, suggest that he is the resident secretary or petition-writer of the ibis-cult. Most of the texts in his hand seem to have been dictated by H̄or of Sebennytyos, and we therefore know little about his Memphite namesake. Nevertheless the five short texts mentioned above give a small amount of information. Texts 12, 25, and possibly 30, acquaint us with a journey undertaken by him at the request of the god to *Pr-p̄y-f-iry*, an obscure locality which seems to have lain near Alexandria. This journey, which seems to have lasted some five years (c. 172-168) is described in fullest detail in Text 12, where the oracular nature of much of his business is made clear. Text 25 appears to contain the draft of a decree justifying this prolonged departure from Saqqâra, an absence for which he may have been blamed at home, but this like much else in our documents is a matter of inference. Inference too is the only support for the belief that the Memphite H̄or was an initiate into the mysteries of his god.¹ Whatever the truth of this, the clear Memphite hand of this professional writer is seen in Texts 2, 4, 6, 10, 12 and 12A, 13, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24A(?) and B(?), 25, 26, 30, 36-44(?), 45, 48, 49, 50, 51-5, and at its best in the graceful lines of Text 9. Text 16, with its verso upside down, reflects clearly the habit of a letter-writer. The method of dictation is shown by many of the erasures, and the numerous insertions, which were presumably added during a second reading, demonstrate the polishing of texts into final versions. Several texts seem not to have been dictated, but are written directly on to the sherd in the large ungainly hand which is probably that of H̄or of Sebennytyos. Texts 3, 7, 11, 14(?), 19(?), 20(?), 21(?), 23, 27, 28(?), 29(?), 46, 47,

and possibly 33, together with the Greek ostraca, are apparently the work of the latter; the remainder are best left unassigned. Both Greek Text B and Demotic Text 14 are written over palimpsests, and Text 14 shows the clear signs of haste. That some of our ostraca were intended to be second drafts is shown by the occasional dittography, as in Text 2, R° 5-6, or Text 3, R° 19-20, where the writer's attention was momentarily diverted from the rough text before him. The final step, which naturally we cannot trace, would have been the transfer of the entire corpus to a papyrus, doubtless in the hand of the Memphite secretary; that this step was ever accomplished we cannot be sure, but the copy-ticks against several lines, notably in Text 4 (R°), and Texts 16, 17, and 18 (R°), suggest that this was done. That Pharaoh was the intended recipient of this entire document is indicated by the addresses to Texts 2, 7, 28, and 29, and by the general tone and purpose of the whole archive. More difficult to reconcile with this interpretation are the five Greek Texts which begin the present volume; an obvious assumption is that they were intended as an eye-catching protocol, but the clear reference which they contain to the joint reign, and to Ptolemy 'the Brother' makes it more likely that they would have been incorporated into the appropriate section of the historical narrative.

The question has so far been begged concerning the purpose of such a petition. The fact that four of our documents are legal memoranda² (Texts 1 and 21, *i-tr-hr n; wrbw*; Text 26, to Ariston of Daphnae(?), Text 31 to Sarapion), and the technical significance of the word *smi* 'petition for a hearing' (Gardiner, *Mes*, 14, n. 18), demonstrate that some form of litigation had taken, or was taking, place. Some pale light is shed on the nature of this litigation. The phrase *iry-w gns*, first appearing in Demotic

¹ The evidence is discussed in the notes to Text 16, R° 4-5; 17, 6-7, and 14-15; 23, R° 7-8.

² See *JEA* 58 (1972), 254 ff. and the notes to Text 1, 1, p. 12 above.

Text A, 1, is repeated in Text 16, R° 11 and 17, 5, with the additional phrase *n-drt n: rmtw dry*. *Try-gns* as a legal term is discussed by Barns, *JEA* 58 (1972), 165-6, and one suspects that the phrase used by Hor is the demotic equivalent of the Greek ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ, the regular opening of complaints and petitions (cf. *UPZ* 18, 2, and the revised text, p. 648, l. 6). These 'mighty men', doubtless the high temple authorities, are described in Text 7, 14 as having 'found fault' with the writer (*gm lwh*, the phrase used of Thoth in Text 26, R° 17). In Text 27, V° 8-9 Thoth is shown bringing advice to these same authorities, advice which they doubtless were supposed to have ignored. Further details are scarce; Text 7, end and 27, V° 9 make accusations that the food of the ibises is being stolen, and poignantly describe the birds in the extremity of hunger; Texts 16 and 17, and apparently the end of 29, direct curses against an enemy, doubtless the perpetrator of these crimes. It is not a great step to identifying this enemy with the 'mighty men'. The last-named text also mentions an inventory (*htht*), which may also have been used to establish guilt, but this text is deliberately erased; a tempting explanation is that this was because of the incriminating nature of its contents. Further speculation is hard to resist, but it is out of place here.

The grouping of all our ostraca into a connected petition raises questions about their reliability as sources. The oracular material and the dream-texts were clearly worked into a preamble designed to prove the author's reliability as a seer and true exponent of the divine. The historical material is introduced only inasmuch as it serves to reinforce this impression, and must be read in this light. In a similar way the ostraca concerned with the reforms of the ibis-

cult are present only to point the contrast between the ideal cult and the irresponsibility and maladministration of the present authorities. All references, therefore, to the piety of Philometor, or the war against Antiochus, or even the accounts of dreams or trivial experiences, are to be regarded as tendentious. Appeals to the monarch are common enough in the Ptolemaic period, and a very fine note on the Greek examples is to be found in A. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, i (Paris, 1969), 188-91. The tactics employed in such petitions are twofold: either constant appeal is made to the pathetic, as consistently in later Roman advocacy, or, more subtly, to the insinuated notion that the goodwill of the gods towards the ruling sovereign is dependent upon the proper upkeep and administration of their cults. This second approach is that preferred by Hor. Such a compendium of historical narrative, oracles, and expressions of loyalty is familiar already from Pap. Rylands IX, a text which has much in common with the archive of Hor. Indeed, it may not be too fanciful to suspect that such was the standard form of an Egyptian petition to the highest authorities. It is even possible that other such petitions may have gone unrecognized, and one is led to wonder whether such a text as the Turin Strike Papyrus is not part of a similar document addressed to Ramesses III or his successor.¹

The possible date of this petition is difficult to determine. The reference to 'Year 30' in Text 29, and the very vague possibility that Text 4, R° 11 refers to the death of Eupator brings us to the very end of the 150s; the dating of Text 34 to the May or September of 147 may be taken merely as a symbol of the end of our archive.²

The results of this petition are of course

¹ Such an idea can be readily obtained from the remarks of Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 144-5.

² It is unfortunate that the idea that this text, the rim of a

jar, represents the remains of the container for our ostraca cannot be proved; see note *ad locum*.

unknown, and we have no way of telling whether Hor survived his sovereign, and if so, what became of him in the disturbances of the following years. We are forced, therefore, to return to the texts themselves, written in the dialects of Sebennytos and Memphis (the frequent loss of *-t* from the infinitives of *tertiaae infirmae* verbs, as in *ms-f*, Text 4, R° 5; *krs-k*, 8, R° 22; *ir-s*, 25, 11; *tn-s*, 26, R° 10; *gm-s*, 32, V° 1, *r-dbr-s*, 45, 4; the spellings of *l-tr-shy* and *thnyt* in 3, R° 7 and 23, V° 23, the writing *sgny* for *sdny* in 12, V° 4; 26, V° 8, and the pronominal form *in-w-y* in 8, R° 2).

Such is the evidence for this remarkable figure. In some ways he resembles the priest Manetho, also a native of Sebennytos, who moved south, γένει Σεβεννύτης ὑπάρχων Ἑλιοπολίτης,¹ while in others he is reminiscent of the prophet who says 'I have dreamed, I have dreamed'.² In all ways he is uniquely worthy of our attention.

§ 2: Historical information

The preceding section dealing with the career of Hor, and his petition to Pharaoh, has laid emphasis on the fact that his writing is not objectively detached from questions of his own interest, and his historical material is no less subject to this reservation than the rest of his petition. Nevertheless, if a man feels that the facts justify his cause, he will go to a certain length to get them right, and it is clear that Hor, Egyptian though he was, had a surprising grasp of the political events of his time. Whatever the truth, it is undeniable that his importance as a contemporary source for events known otherwise largely or even solely from the fragments of Polybius is too great to be ignored, and that consequently the burden of proof falls upon those who suspect his reliability to find support for their suspicion.

Hor's most important contributions to the history of his times lie in the dynastic information he gives, and in his observations on the sixth Syrian War. Philometor's birthday is said in Text 3, R° 12-13 to have fallen on 12 Thoth in the Egyptian calendar;³ in order to convert this into a Julian date one must identify the year. Arguments, though possibly not conclusive ones, have been given above for attributing Text 3 to the year 158, in accordance with the proclamation of Eupator (in summer) and the visit of Philometor to the Serapeum (October). The Julian date for the king's birthday would then be 19 October 184. Reasons have been given above for preferring this year for the king's birth, rather than 186. As the Egyptian calendar slides with respect to the Julian, the king's birthday would by the year 158 have been celebrated on 13 October, and it is here that our Text 3 must be dated.

Philometor's accession to the throne after May 180 (Skeat, *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 32) finds no reflection in our documents, and the whole period between his coronation and the death of his mother (before September 176)⁴ is badly represented. Text 19, R° 14-15 which is dated to 31 May 172 names 'the Pharaohs' (*n Pr-ciw*), who can scarcely be other than the king and his young wife, Cleopatra II; the text may therefore be quoted as confirmatory evidence for the belief that Philometor's marriage, together with his ἀνακλητήρια, is best dated to the spring of 175.⁵

By far the most perplexing piece of dynastic information is offered to us in Text 5. Hor, writing on 30 Paophi of Year 5, informs us that 'the confirmation of the fortune (*p: chr-rd (n) p: rš-shn*) [.....] has occurred in Memphis'; unfortunately the context is too obscure to define what he means, and all we can ascertain is that some sort of benefit (*mdt-nfrit*) has been granted

¹ Waddell, *Manetho*, x. 208.

² Jeremiah 23: 25.

³ See note *ad locum*; the reading 15 is less plausible.

⁴ Pestman, *Chronologie*, 46.

⁵ See note *m ad locum* p. 79 above.

by Thoth. If the fifth year is in fact that of Philometor alone, the date would correspond to 4 December 177, and explanations of the auspicious occasion would be difficult to find. The assumption that we are dealing with a year of the joint reign is made more likely by the reference to the general *Hrynys* in the following lines (Text 5, 4); the date would then come down to 2 December 166. Guesses are out of place in a preliminary publication, and the author may only note in passing his suspicion that the event which has so excited Hor is the birth of Ptolemy Eupator. This at least would be the confirmation of the Isis-dream of 168 (cf. Text 1, 17-18). The birth of this ill-fated prince has generally been placed during these years (Otto, *Geschichte*, 9; L. Pareti, *Ricerchi sui Tolomei Eupatore e Neo Filopatore* (Reale Accademia Scienze, Torino 1907-8), 506, n. 2); note that children (τέκνα) are ascribed to the royal couple already on 21 September 164.¹ Of even greater interest here is our Text 28, which was written at a point within the joint reign, and which clearly shows a remedy (*phrt*) being fashioned for the Queen. Unfortunately there is no proof that childbirth was the cause for this, or if childbirth, that the child was Eupator, and here our speculation must reluctantly give way.

Of greater value is Hor's treatment of the sixth Syrian War. The primary sources for the campaigns of Antiochus IV Epiphanes into Egypt are numerous (Polybius XXVIII-XXXI; Diodorus XXX; Livy XLIV; and, written with a very different purpose, Daniel 11; the commentary of St. Jerome on the latter is also of great value). The present account is based on these in conjunction with the findings of Skeat

(*JEA* 47 (1961), 107 ff.); the last-named is of particular importance for its revision of the chronology of the two Seleucid invasions.² This chronology is followed in the present commentary.

In the latter part of 170, the policy of Eulaeus and Linaeus prevailed in Egypt: after 5 October of the same year the joint reign of Philometor and his brother had been proclaimed in Alexandria.³ This joint reign is reflected in the proemia to two of our documents,⁴ and the two Pharaohs in several more. By the end of November, however, the Egyptian army had been utterly defeated in the neighbourhood of Mount Kasion, Eulaeus and Linaeus disgraced, Philometor captured and in the hands of Antiochus, and the joint reign formally repealed. At this point we should note that our Text 12, written on 12 December 170, continues to use the discredited form of dating, and is later than any quoted by Skeat;⁵ this may either be a lapse of memory, or a mere reflection of the uncertainty in Egypt at the end of the year, but it need not seriously affect his proposed reconstruction.

The victorious Antiochus seems to have remained in Egypt throughout 169, acting nominally as champion of the powerless Philometor.⁶ His withdrawal to Syria (probably as a result of negotiations) seems only to have taken place at the end of the year, a period to which it is possible to ascribe the encouraging words of Text 12, V°. It is, however, more than likely that Antiochus maintained his garrison at Pelusium, and probably in other Egyptian cities as well. From the Egyptian defeat of 170, the country was in a condition of *stasis*, with Egypt supporting the claims of Philometor, Alexandria

Ptolemaic state at this time.

¹ Pap. Louvre 2329 (= Wilcken, No. 110); see note *a* to Text 3, V° 1, p. 27, and the discussion following.

² The account in Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 136 ff. is now in need of supplementing.

³ Skeat, op. cit., 108. P. M. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 211, n. 212) rejects the view that the establishment of joint rule was overtly a political gesture, preferring to stress the economic aspect, especially the near bankruptcy of the

⁴ Greek Text E and Text 28; and by implication of date in several others. Ptolemy 'the Brother' appears also in Text 3, V° 19.

⁵ Op. cit. 108; see note *g* to the translation of Text 12, p. 53 above.

⁶ Pap. Lond. Inv. 1974 shows him still in Egypt on 23 April 169; Skeat, 110.

upholding those of 'the Brother', and it is this condition which Hor refers to as 'the time when Egypt divorced itself (from Alexandria)', *p: tr (t)wn-n: Kmy pnk n-tm:f (n) Rr-kd*.¹ This state of affairs persisted, according to Texts 3 and 4, into the year 168, although a reconciliation between the two kings seems to have taken place upon Antiochus' withdrawal, whereupon the joint reign, with its connotations of an aggressive foreign policy, was declared for a second time. This reconciliation is in fact confirmed by Hor himself, when he states in Text 2, R° 12; V° 4-6, and 3, 18-20, that both kings were together in the Alexandrian Serapeum on 29 August 168. The phrase describing the separation of Egypt from Alexandria must therefore be taken as a general description of the period when hostilities continued against Antiochus, and little more.

During the summer of 168 Hor 'stood with' a personage named *Hrynys* (Text 1, 8); this phrase, used elsewhere in our documents,² seems to mean little more than 'had an interview with', and the contents of this interview are made clearer to us in Text 2, R° 7-8. Antiochus had reinvaded in the spring (Skeat, 112). Cyprus was also seized, and there is considerable evidence that during this second invasion, far from acting as protector of the rightful king as he had previously done, the Seleucid set aside the entire government of Egypt. Antiochus was advancing towards Alexandria, the home of the Queen and the two Ptolemies (Text 3, V° 18-19; cf. the account in Polybius, XXIX, 27). Antiochus is situated³ to the north of *Pr-jwrys*, a locality, possibly bearing the name of the discredited Eulaeus, which may have lain by the coast to the

east of the capital.⁴ At this time of peril for the city, Hor has had a dream prophesying both the salvation of Alexandria, and the birth of an heir to Cleopatra; this dream is communicated to *Hrynys* on 11 July 168, and we may therefore suppose it to have happened recently before.⁵ *Hrynys* must now be introduced: he is described in Text 2, R° 8 as general (στρατηγός), in Text 4, R° 1-2 and 5, 4 as 'general of horse of Pharaoh and the Queen', and in Text 1, 8-9 his duties are paraphrased as '*Hrynys* who was at the head of the army [and who acted as] the agent of Pharaoh Ptolemy our Lord'. There can therefore be little doubt that he was a commander, perhaps even the supreme commander, of the Egyptian army in its defence of the homeland. The name may perhaps correspond to *Eirenaïos (*Helenos being far less convincing), but no plausible identification can be suggested from the *Prosopographia*.⁶ He may well, like many Ptolemaic generals, have been a soldier of fortune from abroad. The relation of this important personage to Hor is also difficult to grasp: in Text 4, R° 2, he seems to act as his superior, and it may be that during the national crisis Hor of Sebennytyos had been serving in the army in some capacity. That *Eirenaïos survived the war seems to be shown by his reappearance in Text 5, 4, at the end of 166. *Eirenaïos clearly did not believe in the dream told to him by his mantic associate; the reason for this, apart possibly from the professional soldier's natural lack of sympathy, is said to be that *Gry* was still in Memphis.⁷ This name, alternatively spelt *Gryn*, will correspond to the Greek Creon, or perhaps more likely Cleon. The fact that on

¹ Texts 1, 7; 3, V° 10; 4, R° 4.

² Cf. among others Text 4, R° 15 and Texts 12, R° 3; 22, R° 3.

³ The word used in Text 3, V° 10 may mean 'campaigning', but this is not certain.

⁴ See note i to the translation of Text 3, V° 11, p. 28 above.

⁵ In Text 3, this date has been altered to 1 July; this may be a lapse of memory, for Text 3 is known to be retrospective,

or it may perhaps reflect the date of the dream itself. The former alternative is perhaps sounder.

⁶ See further, note 9 to Text 1, 8, p. 13 above. The Eirenaïos of Pap. Tebtunis 64b, 18 is probably also that of Pap. Tebtunis 7 (Grenfell, Hunt, Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, i, 65, 267), but the date, at 116/115, is far too late for the present character.

⁷ Text 2, R° 9; V° 7-8; Text 3, V° 11.

11 July this personage had 'not yet left Memphis' implies that he did at a later date leave, and his constant epithet 'agent of Antiochus' leads us to the conclusion that *Cleon was the acting governor installed at Memphis by the Seleucid forces. The presence of such a governor implies in its turn that Antiochus now looked upon Egypt as conquered territory, and it raises yet again the old question of Antiochus' claim to the Egyptian throne. For a Seleucid monarch to lay claim to the throne of his Ptolemaic neighbour is a bold act, and the scepticism of Bevan¹ seems at first sight justified; even the presence of coins, struck in Egypt in the name of the invader,² and the clear statements of Jerome (*In Daniel*, xi. 21 ff.) and of Porphyry (*F.Gr.H.* 260, Fr. 49a) that he was crowned at Memphis *ex more Aegypti regnum accipiens* may possibly be accounted for by the compromise that Antiochus' assumption of royal titles was a piece of theatre, a trait in the character of the Seleucid which was to reappear in his later career. Now it is true that Ḥor consistently writes the name of Antiochus in a cartouche, although he suffers from an embarrassment over the exact spelling; but no two writings of the name and its determinatives are alike,³ and the evidence of the Raphia Stela shows that no weight may be attached to the use of the cartouche.

Much more telling, however, and unknown when Bevan wrote, is the testimony of Pap. Tebtunis 698, which preserves the heading of an edict addressed by the king to the cleruchs of the Faiyûm (*Tebtunis Papyri*, iii; Lenger, *Corpus*, 32).⁴ In this heading the entire province has been renamed the Crocodilopolite nome, doubtless, as van Groningen saw, because of the nationalistic tones of the name Arsinoite. When we add to this evidence the appearance of *Cleon

as governor of Memphis, the argument becomes very strong: a regime which installs military governors, and renames whole provinces while striking coins, is surely not indulging in the histrionic. We may also think it likely that the Romans took an extremely serious view of this 'performance', for on the 22 June 168, immediately after the battle of Pydna, the envoy G. Popillius Laenas was already on his way southwards. The declaration of Seleucid overlordship in Egypt meant the unification of the Hellenistic East, and the overthrow of Rome's consistent policy. The action of Antiochus was thus intolerable to the eyes of the Senate.

On 30 July 168 *Eirenaios became convinced of Ḥor's reliability (Text 3, V° 15), for this is the day given in our texts for the Seleucid evacuation of Pelusium.⁵ Ḥor indeed manages to give the impression that this exact day had been prophesied in his dream; this is possible, but it is extremely difficult for a casual observer to extract this from the account in Text 1, and it may perhaps be that Ḥor is 'reading back' the day into his narrative in order to enhance his own reputation. The details of the Roman ultimatum are familiar from Polybius XXIX, 27, and Ḥor adds the information that Antiochus and his army withdrew from Egypt by sea (*n sgr*, Text 2, R° 6; V° 12), presumably along the coast to Antioch. Cyprus at the same time reverted to the Ptolemaic kingdom. It is not perhaps a coincidence that the Seleucid withdrawal took place on the final day of an Egyptian month, for Polybius (XXIX, 27, 8) expressly states that a time-limit was set upon the king's actions; advanced knowledge of the Seleucid retreat may well have stimulated Ḥor's interview with *Eirenaios.

text is well brought out by Préaux, *CdE* 11 (1936), 537. The matter is rediscussed by P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii, 211, no. 213 where the discrepancy between the proposed reconstruction and the date given by Porphyry is again emphasized.

⁵ Text 2, R° 5-7; V° 11-12; Text 3, V° 13-14.

¹ *History of Egypt*, 284-5.

² Cf. *ibid.*, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 138; Mahaffy, 336; Bouché-Leclercq, ii. 14-15, shares the scepticism.

³ See note ff to Text 2, V° 8, p. 17 above.

⁴ See the review by H. Henne in *Revue des études anciennes* 37 (1935), 29-33, and van Groningen, 'Petite note sur Pap. Tebt. 698', in *Aegyptus* 14 (1934), 120. The importance of the

*Eirenaïos' action was suitably prompt: Ḥor was dispatched to Alexandria to announce his news to the kings (Text 2, R° 11; V° 3-4). His audience was granted on 29 August; unfortunately the intervening month may as well have been occupied in gaining the audience as in travelling, and we cannot use these figures to estimate the position of the Egyptian forces. Text 2 describes his arrival in the capital with an unknown general named *Tytts* (*Diodotos), and continues with a vivid account of Ḥor's recital of 'the salvation of Alexandria and every man within it' before the Pharaohs in the Alexandrian Serapeum. The retrospective version (Text 3, V° 18) mentions also that the Queen was present on this occasion. The reason for this great assemblage may well have been one of public thanksgiving for the delivery of Egypt from its peril, a mood confirmed by the later dispatching of Noumenios' embassy to Rome. It is possible here to interpret the syntax of Text 2, V° 7-9 with its circumstantial *tw-i rš* to mean that when the interview took place at Alexandria, the governor *Cleon was still in Memphis, but this seems unlikely (he probably withdrew with Antiochus), and the other texts lend little support to this view. It is of interest to see, however, that Ḥor's optimism was not shared by all his countrymen: two Serapeum letters (UPZ 59 and 60), written on this very day (29 August), refer desperately to 'such times as these'. Presumably economic conditions within Egypt were still stringent, and may long have remained so.

Text 3 introduces at this point two obscure characters, *šmnys* (Ammonius) and *šrkhrts* (*Archelaidas?), who are described respectively as 'within the portal' (*hn tš hyty*, perhaps a title used at court), and situated at Memphis. They

seem to have made a detailed chronicle of the retreat of Antiochus, but little more can be said of them, and they do not reappear.¹

The scene in the Alexandrian Serapeum is followed immediately by three journeys (Text 3, V° 20-3):

Pharaoh (by whom Philometor is almost certainly meant) went to Memphis, doubtless to restore order and loyalty after the withdrawal of *Cleon and the Seleucid forces from the city. The visit to Memphis, home of Egyptian kingship, would have been politically expedient, but it was temporary, as Philometor, the Queen, and the Brother continued to reside in Alexandria.

Nwmnys (Noumenios) went to Rome. This reference, the earliest to Rome in an Egyptian text, confirms the account of the embassy recorded by Polybius (XXX, 16) and Livy (XLV, 13). The kings, in their mood of gratitude after the Seleucid expulsion, sent this ambassador to Rome to offer formal thanks to the Senate, and the envoy chosen had already achieved distinction.² Son of Herakleodoros, and prominent in Alexandrian court circles, he had been nominated πρόξενος at Gortyn in the most exalted company,³ and in such capacity his diplomatic talents must have been developed. Between 171 and 169 he seems to have been *strategos* of the Thebaid (Bengtson, *Strategie*, iii (1952), 226, no. 118) and to have received the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ (Pap. Grenfell I, 38), while in the spring of 169 he was appointed eponymous priest of the royal cult in Ptolemais, a title which he retained at least until the end of 165. By this time two of his daughters were already devotees of the deified Arsinoe Philopator and Berenice Euergetis at Alexandria. He was by the mid 160s presumably advanced in years, and may soon have died. His son and grandson likewise

¹ See the notes to Text 3, V° 16-18, p. 29 above. There is a possibility that the account of the retreat was incorporated by Ḥor into the material which he read out before the Pharaohs on 29 August.

² For Noumenios in general see Pauly-Wissowa, 17

(1937), 1296, no. 6, and A. Bernand, *Inscriptions Grecques de Philae*, i (1969), 194 ff.

³ Bernand, *ibid.*, and Peremans-van't Dack in *Historia, Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, 3 (1954-5), 338-45.

attained considerable rank. The significance of this personage in our present texts is that Ḥor, as often, shows himself to be very well informed. Some of this knowledge may have been common, but it is not difficult to conjecture that a good part of his information came from *Eirenaïos.

Tynys (Deinias?)¹ went to Pelusium. Whatever the doubt over the name of this personage, there can be little over the nature of his mission, which would have been to supervise the evacuation of the Seleucid garrison, and to reclaim the vital frontier in the name of the Ptolemies.²

Ḥor's importance as a contemporary source extends beyond the events of the sixth Syrian War. Text 4, although lamentably faded, gives the content of a letter written by *Eirenaïos. This letter is said to cover events reported to him by Ḥor of Sebennyptos from August 168, through to year 10 (+x), i.e. not later than 163/2. It thus provides a chronicle of much of the joint reign, although there is no doubt that some of its prophecies are long retrospective. The 'eldest son of Pharaoh' is now said to be born,³ and his dominion over Cyprus, which took place in the late 150s, forecast. The retreat of Antiochus is recalled, and a voyage by Pharaoh to 'the isle of the sea', again probably Cyprus, is described. This voyage may be that of Philometor's appeal to Rome against his brother, which took place during the winter of 164/3 (Bevan, 291), and which was instrumental in putting an end to the joint reign. A final, very obscure, statement may mean that a disaster had befallen the auspicious son; if death is meant, this overtook Eupator early in 150, and we would have clear proof that our text was written long after the events it seems to foretell, but the text is not such as to encourage certainty.

¹ See note to translation, Text 3, V^o 22.

² For the importance of the city see note *k* to Text 3, V^o 14, p. 28 above.

³ Text 4, R^o 5; note that the original dream, as described in Text 1, prophesies that five generations of Philometor's heirs shall ascend the throne, and five is precisely the number of Philometor's predecessors. The dynastic excitement of

Equally mysterious is the event recorded in Text 7. The purpose of this text was to describe the abuses of the ibis-cult, and to alert the attention of Philometor and his Queen to the neglect of the shrines. The date may therefore fall in the late 150s, during the drafting of Ḥor's great petition, but there is no certain proof of this. He adds in the introduction (Text 7, 5) that the might of Pharaoh and the readiness of his army have saved the royal throne, upon which *Tmṣn* in *Tbny* sat. The possibilities that *Tmṣn* may represent the name *Demophon, and that *Tbny* may be Daphnae, are discussed *ad locum*; whatever the likelihood of these identifications, it would seem that Ḥor is triumphantly relating the suppression of an otherwise unknown attempt on the king's throne. The role of another person, *ḥktryn*, is quite obscure. The latter years of Philometor's rule, though much less stormy than the joint reign, were not without their troubles (cf. the intrigue of Archias in Cyprus, Polybius XXXIII, 3, and the attempt by Euergetes to seize the island in 154, the following year). Above all, the growing involvement of the king in Syrian affairs may have given many opportunities to dissidents, among them perhaps *Tmṣn*, but it is unwise to speculate further.

In one more respect does Ḥor help to confirm our knowledge. The character of Philometor is sketched for us in Polybius XXXIX, 7. Ḥor adds to this picture. Although we must remember that he is for ever anxious to secure the goodwill of the supreme authority, he places emphasis, both in Text 3, where Philometor's concessions to the ibis-shrine at Saqqâra are described, and in Text 2, R^o 13-14 upon the piety and magnanimity of his sovereign.⁴ This emphasis is surely Philometor's earlier years is shown by his reorganization of the earlier cults upon his marriage (Oates, *Études de Papyrologie*, 9 (1964), 71-2).

⁴ Cf. also the decree of the Cretans in honour of the same quality, *OGIS* 116; in corroboration P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, ii. 212, n. 217. That the reign of Philometor in other respects provided great stimulus to the production of

genuine, even if it is expedient, and it helps us to enrich our picture of Philometor, most admirable of the Ptolemies.

§ 3 : Dreams and oracles

We have until this point been following Hor of Sebennytes along rational and well-ordered paths, but we must now turn away into a dimmer region. To distinguish between rational and irrational, between the world of the prosaic and that of the gods, is not the ancient manner, and in nearly all our texts personal narrative, historical allusions, and the most recondite dreams and visions mingle without comment or distinction.

Vocatus atque invocatus deus aderit; but the difference between sought and unsought is a fundamental one. The unsought omen, that sudden admonition of the divine, plays an apparently lesser part in Egyptian texts than in those of other cultures, but there are still clear signs of it in our sources; even Prince Osorkon, by affirming the absence of an eclipse before catastrophe, reveals an implicit belief in such phenomena,¹ and several royal dreams, such as the Sphinx Stela of Tuthmosis IV, or the vision of Merneptah, show the same belief in action.²

Of more interest to the present study is the solicited omen, a deliberate inquiry after divine will. This form of omen is in essence nothing more than a question, addressed to a god rather oracular works with an Egyptian flavour is shown by the fact that it was probably at this time that the astrological manual of Nechepso and Petosiris was compiled (Fraser, *op. cit.* i. 437). Several of the events of Texts 1-4, such as the hostility of Egypt and Syria, and the journey of Pharaoh to Cyprus, seem to be reflected in this work, a typical product of the generation of Hor and of Ptolemy the *κατοχος*.

¹ Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), 88-9. A fuller treatment is found in Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (Providence, 1959). Although this text is undoubtedly transcribed from a Near-Eastern original, it would surely not have been transcribed had it not corresponded in some degree to Egyptian thinking.

than a human agency, and inasmuch as it is a question, we may apply to it the distinction made by Gardiner³ between questions for *corroboration*, and those for *specification*. The first type, which requires for answer either 'yes' or 'no', is the form of the New Kingdom oracle, for the mechanism involved allows the god only to agree (*hnn*) or to decline (*nri n-hr*).⁴ The common category of 'oracular questions' are always inquiries of this sort;⁵ in other words, they presuppose that the questioner knows the nature of the problem before him.⁷ The second type of question makes no such assumption, for it requires from the god more information, both about the nature of the difficulty, and about its possible solution. The clearest example of this is incubation, the habit of consulting the god in moments of crisis to obtain his advice through a dream. The belief that dreams are the agents of divine premonition is of some antiquity in Egypt,⁶ but there is no reason to suppose that such dreams were deliberately provoked; the sought dream appears in fact only in the later periods of Egyptian history. This may partly be due to the inadequacy of early material, but it is difficult to resist the suspicion that the appearance of incubation and of dream-invocation does correspond to a clear change in Egyptian thought, one in which the human mind becomes increasingly conscious of fate, of its own shortcomings, of hostile forces beyond its control, and begins to reach towards the magic and other means necessary to circumvent them.⁷

² A convenient collection of such dream-texts (by Sauneron) will be found in *Les songes et leur interprétation* (*Sources Orientales*, ii, Paris, 1959), 19 ff.

³ Cf. *Eg. Gr.* § 490.

⁴ Černý in Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 44-5. On the public appearances of gods in shrines at festival times, see W. Barta, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 75 ff.

⁵ Černý, *op. cit.*, 46 ff.

⁶ e.g. Merikarē (Pap. Petersburg 116A), R^o 136-7; Volten, *Traumdeutung*, 40-1.

⁷ One is very conscious, to quote but a single example, of the difference in mentality between the *sbrywt* of the Old Kingdom, as Ptahhotep and Kagemni, and the later Amemōpe and Papyrus Insinger.

> The sacred animal, with its clear resemblances to man, yet essentially divorced from his experiences, was the natural medium for the solicited omen, at least in Egypt with its tradition of animal manifestations of the divine. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a man such as Hor of Sebennyptos, trained as a priest in the cult of that most polymorphous deity, Isis, and employed in the sanctuary of that most teeming of sacred birds, should be acutely conscious of the visitations of gods. In his case, too, we can hardly doubt that personal traits disposed him towards an interest in such matters,¹ matters which he is at pains to record.

That Hor practised incubation is clear from Text 13, where he describes himself as making supplications before the house of rest of the Ibis; for two days he appeals to Osorapis and to Osormnevis, and to the gods of their respective resting-places, and on the third (10 March 155), he receives a dream. Neither the reason for his request nor the interpretation of his dream is given, but it is clear that the incident was deliberately provoked. It is possible that the short addresses to Isis of Text 10 are intended to conjure dreams, and a similar, but longer dream-invocation is seen in Text 18, written some fifteen years before Text 13, where a whole range of divinities and demons, notably creatures of the Underworld (*Dwt*) and forms of Ra-Horus, are conjured to 'appear in a dream'. That this text too is set in Memphis seems extremely likely, judging from the names of gods and of localities which it contains. Similar dream-invocations from a much later date are

known from the London/Leiden Magical Papyrus, and the similarities, both in phraseology and in the proposed result, are striking.² From a similar date there survives a bilingual text with additional Coptic glosses, Pap. BM. 10588, with a similar appeal to the god Harthoth.³ Even the Greek magical texts of the same period contain similar material.⁴ It is all the more interesting, therefore, that the dream-appearance recorded in Text 13, 8-12 should bear a certain similarity to the figure to be conjured by the formula in London/Leiden IV, 7. That such a tradition should last for more than four centuries is in itself remarkable, and it raises difficult questions. Is one to assume that Hor himself was so influenced by a convention that he found himself dreaming according to a fixed pattern, or is it better to explain the resemblance in our two accounts as a coincidence, shaped only by the vague assemblage of myths, iconographies, and symbols which were shared by all Egyptians? A preliminary account such as this can do little but point out such problems as they arise, and leave their resolution to later works; the present writer can admit only to an inclination in favour of the second answer, while confessing his inability to prove it.

The other dream texts of Hor tell us little about their circumstances: Text 8, we are told, is dated to a festival of Thoth, in all probability that of the twelfth day of the month which bears his name.⁵ The great dream of Text 9, with its remarkable interlocution between dreamer and goddess, is apparently ascribed to a festival of Isis. This clear attempt

¹ That personal reactions to dreams and omens could vary considerably is *a priori* likely, and is shown by the behaviour of Ptolemaios, in contrast to the angry scepticism of his brother, cf. UPZ 12 and 13, although the attitude of Apollonios was perhaps still unformed. Similar 'dreamers' seem to include Zoilos in the Zeno papyri, the writer of Pap. Oxy. 1381, and, in all probability, Nectanebo II and the Meroitic Harsiotef.

² R^o V and V^o XVII contain clear references to the conjuring of dreams, V^o XXIV possibly so. The editors, Griffith

and Thompson, dated the papyrus by its hand to the third century A.D. The origins of such texts are uncertain, but they may lie far back in Egypt's past; cf. the similar invocation of a ghost in *Khensemhab* (Gardiner, *Late-Egn. Stories*, 89 ff.).

³ Bell, Nock, Thompson, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1933), 7-8, R^o, V.

⁴ Cf. Nock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 219 ff. Note especially Greek Pap. Leiden I, 384 (Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, i. 111 ff.).

⁵ Cf. Text 3, R^o 13.

to associate both texts with auspicious occasions should alert us to the possibility that here too we are dealing with cases of incubation, although the texts at no point make this explicit. One thing which seems clear, however, is that both ostraca have undergone considerable recension (conscious or unconscious): the elaborate syntax, the confident description, and the parallelisms of the closing sections of both texts, show us material which has already matured in the thoughts of the writer. The events precipitated by these dreams, namely Ḥor's journey to Memphis and devotion to the ibis-cult, were of such importance in his life that it is scarcely surprising that these clear signs of divine guidance should have been constantly elaborated, either mentally or in the form of numerous written versions. Whatever this previous history (and in the case of the dream narrated in Text 1 this may well have been considerable), such dream accounts differ from the sort of abbreviated and unmethodical writings shown in Pap. Bologna 3171 and 3173, or in several of the more unsystematic demotic texts from the same archive published by Wilcken.¹ The latter type represents jottings, often elliptical and generally unformed, in several cases obviously written in haste. A plausible explanation of these balder dream accounts is that they represent attempts to preserve the memory of dreams to be presented to a dream-interpreter,² or at least to record them until they can be accommodated into a fuller narrative. It is of course impossible to be certain from such scanty records whether the original dreams were spontaneous, or whether they were the result of incubation, but the absence of a clear reference to the latter may suggest that some at least are the records of chance experience. In our present archive two documents, Texts 11 and 14, resemble these casual jottings, and the latter text

in particular seems stark and unformed; nevertheless we cannot be sure of the reasons for this, and our explanation—that the text represents an attempt to record a fresh dream, with preliminary interpretations of some of its details—remains a conjecture.

Further evidence for the practice of incubation seems to be contained in Text 12. Reasons have been given above for assigning the events of this ostrakon to the second Ḥor, the Memphite petition-writer, but this makes little difference to the present question. The secretary, while on duty at a locality in the Delta, made certain inquiries on behalf of a man named Phentamūn. On 12 December 170, while trying to ascertain the fortune of this man and of a temple with which he seems to have been associated, the writer is rewarded with a dream (Text 12, R^o 4-5); although not stated as an act of incubation, the event is difficult to explain as a coincidence, and it is entirely consistent with the drift of our ostraca that such a method should be employed on behalf of a third person. In all probability both Ḥor of Sebennyto and his Memphite namesake had by 170 acquired considerable reputations as interpreters of the future, and it is not difficult to believe that 'commissions' would be entrusted to them. One is reminded of the communications of dreams sent to Ptolemaios by his friend Nekthonbes (*UPZ*, no. 79), although there is no evidence that the latter was a professional divine, or that he had used incubation to obtain his visions.³

Whether the dreams recorded by Ḥor were spontaneous or provoked, we can gain much information from their contents. Several deities appear in our dream-accounts; with the exception of the abstruse catalogue of Text 18, these are in general familiar to us. Thoth, the god of Ḥor's adopted home, figures prominently in

¹ Note, for example, those translated in *UPZ* i. 350-1, and compare the associated Greek texts (nos. 78, 79) where similar material has been 'worked up' into epistolary form.

² For this category of persons, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ*, 13 and n. 4.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 364.

Texts 1 and 12, and notably in the dreams recorded in Text 8. Isis, goddess of his earlier devotion, occupies a leading place in 1, 9, the verso of 11, and the appeals of 10. Harpocrates, a rarer divinity in our texts, occurs in the recto of 9, while Text 13 gives a prayer to the deified bulls, Osorapis and Osormnevis. At the end of Text 8, Hor is told to go before three gods of the Memphite necropolis, Osiris, Isis, and Thoth. In most of these cases Hor is addressing himself consistently to the major powers of the Serapeum where he lives and writes.

More interesting is the information to be gained upon the emotions and mentality of the author. Some account of this has already been given in the Preliminary Remarks to Text 8, where we have seen the insecurity which underlies the first dream of this ostrakon. A similar sense of undergoing interrogation appears in the recto of Text 11, where another unnamed figure of authority orders him to bring a document. A more confident note is heard in the remarkable verso of Text 9, where Hor is seen questioning the judgement of Isis. The goddess tells him that he is to be established in Memphis for ever, and to this he replies (Text 9, V^o 7), 'Does a man exist for ever?' However, this sounds like a proverb, or an observation rather than a retort, and it remains true that the general tone of our dreams is one of restlessness and anxiety. It is this which perhaps explains their insistence upon the proper maintenance of Hor. Reference is made in Text 8, R^o 14 to 'benefits' (*mdt-nftr*) which are divinely granted to him. These benefits are explained obliquely in the prayers of thanksgiving which occupy the verso, and explicitly in the promise of Text 10, R^o 14, where two are said to be offered: maintenance (*hrt*) throughout life, and burial (*krst*) after death. The first is specified in Texts 10, 11, and 14;

¹ Cf. the metaphor in Pap. NYHS 373a, 2; Reich, *Misraim* 1 (1933), 57-8.

² A slightly similar use of a general word specifically to refer to a dream occurs perhaps in Isaiah, 13:1: 'the oracle

the second, more fully, in 8, 9, 10, and possibly in 14, under the euphemism *wdi* 'salvation'.¹ These essential supports are guaranteed first by Isis (Text 10), and later by Thoth (Text 8), as Hor's allegiance moves from the one to the other. An interesting observation is that food and burial, τροφή και τροφή, are the usual services performed for a sacred animal by his human attendants, and the expression seems to be a usual one for the maintenance of any agent, animal or human, of the divine.

The preternatural activities of the gods are not confined to dreams. Frequent reference is made to the 'utterances' (*mdt* or *ht-mdt*) of various divinities, utterances which seem to be binding upon their devotees. Some of these statements do seem to have been administered through dreams, as in Text 23, V^o 16, where reference is made to *ni (i)dd-w p: ntr c: Dhwty ht rswt*, 'the matters which the great god Thoth spoke through a dream', a phrase which corresponds to τὰ ῥηθέντα [μοι διὰ] ὀνείρου of Greek Text B.² Other statements, however, equally clearly have nothing to do with dreaming. In Text 33, three 'utterances' (*ht-mdt*) are mentioned which look very much like the resolutions of a committee-meeting. We are told (l. 2) that the three matters referred to were ones in which the Ibis had been found deficient, and although the subsequent resolutions are introduced as judgements of Osorapis, or at least of one of his officers, the following paragraphs look very much like the deliberations of a human agency. Such 'utterances' are therefore unlikely to be truly oracular. Other examples of such administrative precepts (which were perhaps ascribed to divine will, without regard to their origin) occur throughout the texts devoted to the management of the ibis-cult (19, 21-9, and 33).

More important for the present chapter are (*massd'*) of Babylon which Isaiah son of Amoz saw'. The word used seems literally to mean 'elevation of the voice', and thus bears a resemblance to the Egyptian term:

the cases of a divine instruction being addressed to an individual. Texts 16 and 17 refer to an oracle, delivered apparently by Thoth, which dealt with 'the great chapels in which the Ibis is born among the nomes and the foremost(?) chapels which are their fields and their shrine' (Text 16, R^o 9-11). This utterance of the god seems to be mentioned again in Text 22, R^o 2, where its meaning is communicated to the temple authorities. Texts 16 and 17 (with 17A) tell us more about the history of this oracle. It was apparently enigmatic, and the writer, the Memphite Hor, was reduced to placing the matter before four 'magicians' (*hr-tb*) to obtain its interpretation (Texts 16, R^o 8-9; 17A, 3-7). Not one of the four was able to do this, until the magician of Imhōtep, whose shrine lay elsewhere in the necropolis,¹ proffered an explanation (Text 17A, 7-8). It is unfortunate that neither text gives details of the oracle or its interpretation, but the fact that interpretation was necessary suggests strongly that the utterance was one from the god (through dream or ecstatic or some other medium unknown to us) and was not the mere resolution of his human servants.

In another text (31A and B) the intentions of the god are made much clearer. Thoth commands, 'Enquire after the wife of Sarapion; bring her before me'. The reasons for this request are not stated, nor is the medium of its delivery. The clarity of the statement suggests that perhaps a straightforward utterance was given through a priest of the god, but the principal intention of the writer is to inform Sarapion of these events, and he has either omitted details irrelevant to this purpose, or recorded them in the portion now lost to us. It must be emphasized that the interest of our texts, in spite of the clear predilection of their authors for such happenings, is not directed to dreams and oracles *per se*, but

only to those which add support to their petitions; all else is subordinated to this end.

An extended use of divine visitations, well attested from the Ptolemaic period (at least in Greek sources), is that found in the healing of the sick.² Our present documents give very welcome confirmation in demotic that such practices were observed at North Saqqâra. In Text 28, 15-16 we are told that 'her(?) mistress Isis made a remedy (*phrt*) for the Queen'. The text is unfortunately too faint for the details of this remedy to be known, but it seems undeniable that we are dealing with a case either of instructions given through a dream or similar medium, or of the composition of a medical recipe under divine auspices.² A further indication of the use of the Saqqâra cults for medical purposes occurs in Text 32, 2 ff. Although the relation of this interesting text (above all, of the group read as *nj htrw*, 'the twins') to the main archive is debatable, the content of the ostrakon is still relevant to the present theme. We are told that an unknown man 'despised the remedies' (*shwr-f nj phrt*). A judgement of Thoth follows. It is possible to interpret this text to mean that a sick man, distrustful of medical recipes offered to him, turned instead to the ministrations of the god. Unfortunately the sherd is incomplete, and other explanations are also acceptable, but it seems reasonable to conclude that the context is a medical one, and that the intervention of the god is relevant in some way.³ It remains to note that the question of healing through incubation falls between the two notions, specification and corroboration, discussed above. It is clear that the petitioner knows the nature of the problem to be solved, yet he requires further steps to be taken, steps which he may not be able to take himself. The truth seems to be that the sufferer from disease is not posing a question to the god, but placing himself into the god's hands, believ-

¹ See topographical commentary below.

² Recipes were composed in the same way in the Greek

world, under the direction of Aesculapius, cf. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, ii (1945), 152-4 ff.

ing that the answer to his distress lies beyond his own capacities.

Much has already been made of the question of interpretation. The archive of Ptolemy the *katochos*, in its edition by Wilcken, has already told us something of the ways in which meaning could be extracted from the oracles of the gods. We know that there existed at the Serapeum professional interpreters of dreams (ἐνυπνιοκριταί), who offered this service to all comers. Some of these experts seem to have been attached to the personnel of the main temples (at least that of Osorapis), others to have acted in a freelance capacity.¹ It is likely that the functionaries who appear in Texts 16 and 17A as *hr-tbw* 'magicians' are the demotic equivalents of Wilcken's ἐνυπνιοκριταί. Four of them are mentioned, although it is not stated whether they were temple employees or private practitioners, but a fifth is clearly said to be 'the magician of Imhōtep, son of Ptaḥ, to whom appeal is made throughout the two lands because of his magic(?)'-making' (Text 17A, 8-10). The latter is presumably the official dream- or oracle-interpreter of the Asclepieion, and it is therefore possible that the other magicians named stood in the same capacity at other shrines. It looks at first sight as if there was competition between cults for the interpretation of oracles, and for the prestige associated with success, but this seems unlikely as a regular feature of the Serapeum. Texts 16 and 17A are tendentious documents, designed to shed bad light upon those 'who have abandoned the path', and the writer is more concerned to point out the censure of the god than merely to provide an advertisement for the magician of Imhōtep. It is noticeable that he does not try to

enhance the prestige of the latter by naming the unsuccessful competitors, and his intention seems to be to show the importance of the oracle, rather than to belittle its would-be interpreters.

It is not only magicians who take it upon themselves to elucidate the wishes of the gods. In Text 9 the goddess Isis herself makes clear her own words (V^o 7 ff.), while in Text 15 explanations of an enigmatic utterance are given by 'Takhrati, the wife of *Tyskrts*, and her sister' (R^o 5-6). There is no reason to suppose that these two women were any other than private persons offering their own opinions on a matter of concern, and the same feature is seen readily in the letters of Ptolemy, who at least on one occasion sees fit to give interpretations of his own dreams.² It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Ḥor, with his undoubted knowledge of such matters (indeed his reputation would probably have been enough to make him widely consulted as a dream-interpreter), should attempt such explanations by himself. The interest here is that he hardly ever does so; in Text 1, 3-4, we see him deliberately journeying to Heliopolis to gain instruction from a priest, again of the god Imhōtep. Indeed, with the exception of the small fragment 57, which is open to considerable doubt, there is only one text in which an interpretation is offered without comment. This occurs in Text 14, V^o 8, after words of such utter obscurity that an interpretation is unavoidable. Even here, there is no certainty that the interpretation is that of Ḥor himself, although such a possibility is very likely. We are left with a distinct impression of reticence in these matters; Ḥor is more concerned to demonstrate his veracity than to indulge in displays of his own expertise.

¹ UPZ i. 48-9. The stela of the Cretan dream-interpreter, probably a freelance agent, has been republished in Roeder, *Kulte und Orakel im alten Ägypten* (1959), 192-4 and pl. 14. The position of the *hr-tb* is so natural in Egyptian texts that considerable doubt applies to Wilcken's judgement (ibid. 49) that dream-interpretation is a creation of the Hellenistic

world. One suspects that behind Ḥor and the *hr-tb* of Imhōtep lies a very long native tradition, a tradition of which the Greek 'dream-interpreter' is merely a translation. For a *hr-tb* attached to the ibis-cult, cf. Text 23, R^o 9.

² UPZ 78, 39 ff.

There remains one question. In the Greek texts at the beginning of this volume, Ḥor describes himself as a *παστοφόρος* of Isis (C, 1; E, 5). This title does not appear in the demotic documents, and *pastophoroi* (*wnw*) play only a minor part in our archive, in Texts 19–23 where they are the recipients of a financial stipulation. The reasons for this reticence are unclear, and will probably remain so as long as our ignorance of the nature of this title persists. A good treatment of the problem is to be found in Bataille, *Les Memnonia* (Cairo, 1952), 144 ff. The functions of these priests are specified in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos: they may not practise officially (*χρηματίζειν*) as priests (§ 82), nor appear as such in processions, nor lay claim to their functions (§ 94), but they are free to accept private commissions (*ιδιωτικαὶ τάξεις*). This last privilege is barred to regular priests, and some of the commissions take the form of choachyte-duties (op. cit. 147).¹ The conclusion seems to be that *pastophoroi* are an inferior grade of priest, whose activities seem directed, not to the care and worship of the god, but to the public at large. A rather similar conclusion is reached by Raymond (*Cd'É* 28 (1953), 53 ff.) as well as by Dunand (*Cd'É* 44 (1969), 306 ff.); their duties are here said to be the supervision of the lay members of the temple staff. An unpublished demotic text, Pap. BM. 10237,² features a lector-priest 'laying down a dream (*kw-f wsh wct rswt*) before a *pastophoros*'.³ It may be possible to see in the *pastophoros* a priest whose duties lay among the general population (note that at every point where they occur in our present texts, they are said to belong to the 'forecourt', the most public part, of the temple of Ptah). Among these duties would be included the interpretation of dreams. If this is correct, then the early training

of Ḥor may well have included the study of dreams and oracles, possibly even the learning of dream-books such as Pap. Carlsberg XIII and XIV, verso.² Such duties, together with the title of *pastophoros*, may have been abandoned after his migration to Saqqâra. This may explain the reluctance of our texts to interpret dreams directly, but the explanation is one offered with great reserve. We should like to know more; but of how much in Egyptology can this be said! The present study can be no more than an outline, and it is clear that whoever wishes to investigate further the complexities of the Egyptian oracle must now take into account not only the utterances of Pap. Rylands IX, the Demotic Chronicle, Pap. Dodgson, or the Oracle of the Potter, but also the writings of Ḥor of Sebennytyos.

§ 4: The administration of the Ibis-cult

Of all the many sacred animals of Egypt, none was worshipped in greater profusion than the ibis. Temples to maintain the cult of this bird, land to provide its sustenance, and subterranean galleries to house its mummified remains were common in the provinces of Egypt. Text 16 (R^o 9–11) reminds us of the many chapels dedicated to the Ibis, and to his patron god Thoth, which were scattered throughout the nomes of the Two Lands. Anyone surveying the remains of known ibis-cults at Hermopolis (Tûna el-Gebel), Thebes, Abydos, Bahriya Oasis, and the Delta Hermopolis (Baqliya) will understand ruefully why the sacred ibis, with its characteristic black head and tail-feathers and shining white body, is now extinct in Egypt.³ To this considerable, and by no means complete list, our texts add the information that an ibis-chapel stood at Temenēsi in the Sebennytic nome (Text 26,

¹ To be edited, it is hoped, by the present writer.

² Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Copenhagen, 1942), *passim*.

³ This list is of course not exhaustive, and it is quite likely that any town known to the Greeks as Hermopolis possessed

such institutions. For Thebes, cf. PM ii. 609; for Abydos, inside the Shûnet el-Zebîb, op. cit. v. 53; for Bahriya, Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, ii, Ch. 4; for Baqliya, PM iv. 39–40, although no such cemeteries are mentioned, and Tûna el-Gebel, op. cit. iv. 169 ff.

R° *passim*).¹ The existence of such a cult even in an obscure place must increase the probability of other similar institutions coming to light elsewhere in the future; the references to the secretary's visit to *Pr-pꜣy-f-try*, a locality perhaps near Alexandria (Text 12, R° 2 is the fullest statement) may imply that a similar cult flourished in this place as well.

It is natural, however, that the main part of our texts should concentrate on the area of North Saqqâra where Ḥor eventually made his home. It is clear from many passages that at Saqqâra lay an extensive complex of buildings devoted to the worship and maintenance of the Ibis, and its associate, the Hawk.² The reasons for this combination, paralleled at Thebes and in other centres of ibis worship, are clear in their outline; the Ibis, sacred bird of the moon and of night, finds its natural counterpart in the Hawk, with its associations of sun and daylight, and this link is so close that from the Roman period, if not earlier, we even encounter the composite deity Ḥar-thoth. The discoveries of the Egypt Exploration Society have confirmed the evidence of our texts, and cleared both hawk- and ibis-galleries within its concession.³ For clues to the theological status of these birds, and of the other animal cults of the neighbourhood, we must naturally turn to the inscriptions and graffiti of the galleries themselves. The writings of Ḥor, largely secular in intent, are generally silent on such matters. The fullest statements occur at the beginnings of two administrative texts. Text 19, R° 5 names 'the Ibis, the soul (*by*) of Thoth, the three times great', and (l. 6) 'the Hawk, the soul of Ptah, the soul of Apis, the soul of Prē(?), the soul of Shu, the soul of Tefnut, the soul of Geb, the soul of Osiris, the soul of Isis, the soul of Nephthys, the great gods of Egypt'. Here the Ibis is clearly described as an extension or

emanation of Thoth, while the Hawk is the essence not only of the principal gods of Memphis, but of most of the Heliopolitan ennead as well. A similar picture comes from Text 25, 3, where we find 'the Hawk, the soul of Osiris, Horus, and Isis; the Ibis, the soul of Thoth, twice great'. Such is the opinion of Ḥor of Sebennyto upon the nature of these sacred birds.

We are understandably told more about the organization of the shrine. Ḥor in general confines his remarks to the cult of the Ibis, but passages such as the two quoted above, and phrases such as 'the servants of the Ibis and the servants of the Hawk' (Text 19, R° 12, 19-20; Text 21, V° 1-2, Text 22, V° 4-5) make it clear that both cults were administered jointly, and that a remark concerning the cult of the Ibis will serve, *mutatis mutandis*, for that of his solar companion.

The cult of these birds lay in the area of the necropolis known as Pi-wa'ḥ-nēbes 'Abaton of her Lord', a place discussed in the topographical section below. Here all that needs to be said is that *a priori* one would expect this area to lie near the complex of galleries explored and cleared during the recent excavations. The cult buildings of Thoth, known collectively as *Pr-Dḥwtꜣ*, 'House of Thoth', lay in the same area, and consisted, according to Text 3, R° 15, of a temple (*ḥt-ntr*) and an 'upper chapel' (*gꜣt ḥrt*), in which the donations made by Philometor to the shrine were 'established in writing before every man on earth', or at least those who had access to the sacred area. It is tempting, though unproven, to identify this 'upper chapel' with the rough stone shrine situated at the mouth of the southern ibis-galleries, excavated by Emery in the season of 1965/6.⁴ There are nevertheless other buildings, mainly of mud brick, in the same area which may also merit this description,

¹ It is true that the precise words are lost; but the reference to a chapel, to the food of the ibises, and the clear evidence of a complex administration leave little doubt upon this point.

² See the index under *pꜣ ḥb*, *pꜣ blk* for detailed references.

³ Preliminary Reports in *JEA* from 51 (1965) onwards.

⁴ See index for references.

⁵ *JEA* 52 (1966), 3 ff.

and the question is better left open. The same is also true of the other cult-buildings named in our texts. The commonest mention is of a building termed *ḥyt n ms* 'birth-chapel' (Text 15, V^o 6), which is clearly a focal point of the cult. Text 33 is concerned entirely with its upkeep, and l. 2 of this ostrakon adds the information that it lay 'within the lake of Pharaoh'. The preposition is probably not to be taken literally, unless in the sense that the chapel stood on an island in the lake, but whatever the exact meaning, it is clear that we should locate the building somewhere in the area of a lake. The 'pool of Abusir', now dry, but which contained water into living memory, would be an obvious candidate for the 'lake of Pharaoh', the more so now as a northern group of ibis-galleries, excavated in Emery's final season (1970/71), faces this lake directly, and a path was traced running from these galleries towards the lake-bed.¹ At first sight, it would seem that an *ḥyt n ms* resembled the *mammisi* of a Ptolemaic temple, but this theory has little to commend it. It is much more likely that it was a building, or group of buildings, intended for the incubation of eggs and the rearing of young birds. Quantities of eggs were found in the excavation of the cult-buildings, and it seems likely that the breeding of ibises (and possibly hawks, if in smaller numbers) was a necessary part of the cult. Unfortunately it is difficult to estimate the number of ibises maintained at Saqqâra at any one time; Text 8, R^o 18 seems to give the number sixty thousand, but this is a dream-text, and caution must be exercised. Nevertheless, it is difficult to estimate the number of ibises alone buried at North Saqqâra at under four million, and if four centuries are allotted for their accumulation, we are still forced to admit a burial rate of ten thousand birds a year. The number in Text 8 may there-

fore be reliable, or even conservative; and the point remains that it is the only number that we have.

Another chapel is mentioned, although without embellishment, in Text 15, V^o 5, where an unknown person, possibly Hor, is addressed as follows: 'You have sworn (an oath) before the chapel of the letter. I shall cause you to proceed(?) [.....] to the chapel of birth.' This 'chapel of the letter' (*ḥyt n šrt*) may have been a record office, where the documents of the ibis-cult were housed, but it does not appear elsewhere in our texts, and we know nothing more about it.

A further feature of the cult is revealed to us in Text 33, 3-4, where a resolution is passed. 'The food (-ration) of Pharaoh, [namely] one loaf of provisions, scatter it upon the *šm* before the Ibis'. The word *šm* is familiar from its use as a financial term for 'banking-house', but it is probable here that an original meaning 'table' (as in the Greek *τρόπεζα*) has been preserved to us. This table, or bench, would seem to be an eating-place; l. 6 of the same text lays down that 'the men who perform labour shall eat rations upon the table before the Ibis'. In the latter case, and possibly the former too, 'the Ibis' may have been a cult-image, in which case we should locate the 'table' in a chapel or similar building devoted to the worship of the divine bird.

A more puzzling feature occurs in several texts. Text 15, V^o 4 mentions 'the dam belonging to' (*pš tny n-s* []), in a context concerned with buildings of the ibis-cult. Another dam or dyke appears in Text 11, V^o 2 as the scene for an assembly of the gods of the north land. Here it is qualified as the 'southern dyke', and a similar name, the 'great dyke' (*pš tny* (?) is seen in Text 24A, 5. All these contexts refer to Memphis, but it is only the first which suggests that the dyke may be linked with the

¹ Preliminary report for this season, *JEA* 57 (1971). For the position of the Pool of Abusir, and a discussion of the

canal *Φχῆρ*, see Reich, *Mizraim*, 1 (1933), 24 ff. and pl. I. See further, Commentary § 5, p. 150 below.

cult of the Ibis.¹ The feature may therefore be a geographical one, unconnected with any specific deity, and chosen simply for its prominence.

Surer ground is reached with 'the courtyard of the Ibis and the Hawk' (*pꜣ inhꜣ hr pꜣ hb pꜣ blk*), which is described most fully in Text 21, V^o 9. The excavation of this courtyard is mentioned briefly in Texts 19, R^o 11 and 23, V^o 11, and a courtyard with walls of mud brick, apparently sunk below the surface of the surrounding sand, was cleared by Emery during the season of 1969/70.² The debris which filled this courtyard contained considerable quantities of bird's eggs, some loose, others stored in large jars. Here for once an identification between excavations and texts seems likely. It is a pity that our ostraca tell us so little of the relative positions of these cult-buildings, but this information is not the chief concern of our writer, and we must rest content.

We are told something of the maintenance of the sacred hawks and ibises. The phrase *tꜣ hrt* (*n nꜣ hbw*) is familiar from many documents, and is generally translated 'feeding-place (a term corresponding to the Greek τροφή) of the ibises'.³ The reference is clearly to plots of land set aside for the upkeep of the birds, and administered by the sanctuaries although frequently leased to cultivators. However, the use of the expression in our own texts is evidently a wider one; the agent of Text 15, V^o 4 is told to 'place his *hrt* of the Ibis upon the dyke [.....]'. The common use of the word *hrt* alone as the complement to *krst* 'burial' (both with reference to the birds, and to a human being), and finally the sentence in Text 8, R^o 18 'bring your clover, this *hrt* of the 60,000 ibises' leave little doubt that the word refers simply to the food required to nourish the birds. That this fodder consisted

partly of clover is suggested by Text 8, even though this is a dream-account, and it is very likely that vegetable produce of this sort was the main crop of the feeding-places, many of which seem to have been border plots of arable land.⁴

Text 33, 3 introduces us to a second kind of *hrt*, 'the food of Pharaoh'. This is said to consist of one loaf (*rk*), which is at first spread upon the table before the Ibis, or his cult-image. In the following lines we find the labourers also eating before the Ibis, and it may be that the 'food of Pharaoh' was a ration, nominally offered to the god, which was destined for consumption by his servants: the common Egyptian practice of reversion (*wdb*) of offerings. Whether this *hrt* was intended for the birds, or for their human keepers, the epithet 'of Pharaoh' indicates that, like the *syntaxis* to be described below, it was a royal subvention, intended as financial aid for the cult.

At the end of the life of a sacred ibis came mummification and burial. Many questions raise themselves at this point. Was each bird allowed to die naturally, or was it put to death in some way? Was this done at the request of one of the many pilgrims who we know were attracted to the site, or did the visitor merely pay for an embalmment which had already taken place? Our ostraca do not help much with these questions, and the answers must await a full review of the evidence. On the burial itself, however, they have more to say. Frequent reference is made to the 'houses of rest' (*rwꜣw-n-htꜣ*) of both Ibis and Hawk. The same expression is used for the burial of a human being in Text 8, R^o 23 and V^o 6, and Text 9, V^o 9, and the use of the word to describe the galleries of the Apis bulls and their divine mothers is well documented. In such circumstances it seems clear that the

¹ The mention of the dyke of course brings to mind the 'lake of Pharaoh' above, where the birth-chapel of the Ibis lay. But excavation has so far failed to shed light upon this. The description 'southern dyke' is also difficult to reconcile with a locality so far to the north of ancient Memphis.

² It was from the sand overlying this court that Texts 6, 10, and 21 were recovered; see introductory notes *ad loca*.

³ Cf. most recently, Reymond in *JEA* 58 (1972), 254-5 and 257, and literature cited; also the same author's *Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 113-17. ⁴ Reymond, *JEA* 58 (1972), 255.

'houses of rest' are the galleries themselves where the mummified birds were stacked. Less certain is another building clearly connected with the burial. In Text 19, V^o 7 three trustworthy commissioners are to carry out a yearly investigation of 'the house of waiting (*rw-y-n-hrry*) of the god which they will find at the time'. This seems to mean that the 'house of waiting' varied from year to year, and for this reason I have suggested that this is the demotic name for the side galleries in which the mummies were stored.¹

The texts describing reforms in the ibis-cult (Texts 19-23) give us a picture of the ideal burial. A mass burial was performed once yearly (19, V^o 8-9 and parallels), for which the birds had presumably been mummified in advance.² The population of the Serapeum, doubtless a loose name for the whole area of North Saqqâra, was to be assembled, and a procession (*try-rk*), attended by appropriate priests and ceremonies, to be led to the galleries where the burial would take place. The galleries would probably be opened for this occasion only, and then resealed, although this is not stated in our texts. The processes of mummification (if such is the true description of the rudimentary treatment of some of the specimens examined) and bandaging (*swt*) are also mentioned in the reform texts (19, V^o 16; 21, V^o 2; R^o 13; 23, R^o 15-16), but details are not given.

The greatest value of our ibis-ostraca lies in the picture which they give of the administration of the cult, a picture which far surpasses the disjointed information of the Prinz-Joachim ostraca.³ Over-all responsibility for the many cults of Memphis was probably entrusted to the royal scribe (*βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς*, *sh-Pr-r*), and it

was to this official that Hor went to communicate his dream of 168 (Text 1, 6). During the period covered by our ostraca (c. 172-162) this office seems to have been held by [] *tryn* (Soterion?), prophet of Khons, but apart from his appearance in Text 1, he plays no further part in our archive.

Below this level, it would seem that in practice authority over the ibis-cult was vested in the priests of the temple of Ptah in Memphis (Text 19, R^o 15-16).⁴ It was before this body that the investigation of the shrine took place on 1 June 172. This council seems to have had considerable power, for it ordered the imprisonment of six men and a complete review of the arrangements for burying the sacred birds. It seems to have been free to make its own decisions, its only limitation being the need to act within the law; indeed at one point the council clearly felt obliged to send to Alexandria in order to clarify the legal position (Text 19, R^o 18). The freedom of this deliberative body is a useful counterpart to the common vision of ancient Egypt as an authoritarian state; it is clear that Pharaoh possessed controls, a financial one (through the Royal Scribe) and a legal one, but within these checks some considerable autonomy was allowed.

Another body which clearly had the right to inspect the cult was the temple of Osiris-Apis (Text 33, 1). This is natural, as the god Osorapis (Osiris-Apis) was the presiding deity of the entire necropolis. The relations between this body and the temple of Ptah are unknown. As the latter was by far the principal shrine in the whole of Memphis, one would expect the priesthood of Ptah to take precedence over that of Osorapis, but there is no evidence from our texts to support this; indeed, there is no evidence

¹ See note *ad locum*, p. 80. The embalming-place itself (*wbt*) is known from Text 22, R^o 10, and seems to have been different.

² This contrasts with the irregular methods in use at Kôm Ombo in the following century, cf. Preisigke and Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, 28 ff.

³ Preisigke and Spiegelberg, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka* (Strassburg, 1914).

⁴ This institution seems to have had authority over the temple of the Mother of the Apis as well (written communication from Professor H. S. Smith), and perhaps over the entire Serapeum.

from any source that the interests of the two temples ever came into conflict.

At Saqqâra itself, the corporation of the ibis-shrine was headed by a *lesōnis* (*mr-šn*). This official, well known from other sources, seems to have acted as the administrative head of the cult.¹ He appears rarely in our texts, and only one man is mentioned as holding the office throughout the period of the reforms. This is the Petimonth(?) of Text 22, R° 7.

More is heard of another important official, the controller of the temple (*pꜣ nty šn ht-ntr*).² This title differs from that of the *lesōnis*; the latter was a priestly appointment, or at least one created internally by the priestly staff, whereas the controller (Greek ἐπιστάτης) was an agent of the king, and was directly responsible to him. It is for this reason that he carries the secondary title 'agent of Pharaoh' (*pꜣ rd n Pr-rꜣ*).³ It is interesting to observe that the council meeting of 1 June 172 was presided over by a royal controller (Text 19, R° 16-17), in what was clearly a third form of control (in addition to fiscal and legal) exercised by the Crown over the affairs of its temples. In contrast to the single *lesōnis*, the holders of the controllership seem to change with marked frequency. The following are known, with the dates at which they are attested:

- (a) Ḍḥmosi son of Petineftēm (June 172): Text 19.
- (b) Djeḥepemou(?) (September 167): Text 23.
- (c) Pshenteḥe son of Payom (June 165): Text 22.

The reasons for this rapid change, whether royal dissatisfaction with temple or officials, or

promotion to higher office, or even a form of appointment by rotation, are quite unknown. It is also impossible to say whether the authority of the controller extended to other cults in the region of the Serapeum; Text 23, R° 11 would seem to imply that it did, but the line is not certainly read. All that we can say is that such an official, which may have been a Ptolemaic innovation, was the burden which the ibis-shrine was to bear in return for the *syntaxis*, the donations of Philometor, and the 'ration of Pharaoh'. In mitigation, it may be said that all three appointees seem to be native Egyptians, and that nowhere in our texts is any criticism applied to them, or the impression given that their authority was an irksome affair.

Beneath these senior officials would have ranked a professional priesthood of Thoth and the Ibis, and Horus the Falcon, but these do not appear in our texts. We do hear of the *wrbw*, the ordinary priests organized into their phyles (Text 19, *passim*; Text 21, R° 1, *nꜣ wrbw n Dḥwty*, and others), and we are shown the deliberative council of the ibis-cult. This consisted of 'twenty-five priests who conclude affairs' (Text 21, R° 11).⁴ The 'twenty-five priests' recur in Text 19, V° 3, without the qualifying phrase.⁵ The system is familiar to us from the Canopus decree.⁶ Before the passing of this decree (6 March 237) the deliberative priests (βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς) numbered twenty, five being nominated by each of the four phyles. After the creation of the fifth phyle in honour of Berenice Euergetis, the number was raised to twenty-five. That this system was still in operation in 172 is shown by our texts, and it is likely that the 'great men' so often criticized by Ḥor

¹ See notes to Text 22, R° 7, pp. 84 ff. The title is also discussed by F. de Cenival, *Les Associations religieuses en Égypte* (Cairo, 1972), i. 154-9. The possibility of the appointment being an annual occurrence is discussed *op. cit.* 167 ff. This is neither confirmed nor denied by our present texts.

² See notes to Text 19, R° 17, p. 79. This official is mentioned in passing by de Cenival, *op. cit.* i. 155, 166.

³ *Ibid.*, and Texts 22, R° 6-7; 23, R° 11. For the term

rd (rwg) in general, cf. de Cenival, *op. cit.* i. 164-6.

⁴ See note to Text 19, V° 3, pp. 79-80.

⁵ A possible reference to the 'twenty administrators' in Text 33, 4 is too conjectural to serve as evidence here. Another obscure figure, the 'priest in session in splendour(?)' of Text 19, V° 1, is also unparalleled; for the use of *hms* for sessions, cf. de Cenival, *op. cit.* i. 21, note on 3, 5.

⁶ Bevan, 179-80.

are the temple authorities in general, and the council in particular. General deliberation and administration seem to have been in the hands of this council of twenty-five, and it is this body which seems to have initiated the reforms of 174 (Text 21). These reforms seem not to have had the desired effect, as some two years later we find the entire question of the administration of the ibis-cult referred to the council of the priesthood of Ptah (Text 19); but the significant fact is that the initial attempt to correct abuses was an internal one, a resolution of the council of twenty-five. Such resolutions are shown by Text 19, V^o 3-4 to have been inscribed in a minute-book (or similar) for future reference. Whether a separate priesthood or council existed for the cult of the Hawk is unknown, though perhaps unlikely.

Alongside the priesthood, and those responsible for the ritual of the temple, were the men concerned with the handling of the birds themselves. Whether this distinction was one readily made by the Egyptians themselves we do not know; indeed it is likely that all personnel of the Ibis were regarded as priestly and as subject to the usual rules of purity and abstention. Nevertheless, the difference is a convenient one for our purpose. Text 33, 7 introduces us to an officer, whose name is unknown to the present writer. If the reading *mn-niwt* is anything like correct,¹ a translation 'door-keeper' may be admitted; but if there is doubt about his name, there is little about his function. He must, the text says, be a reliable man, supervising the ibises and their young 'who until the sun sets will guard the Ibis and keep it safe'. He is clearly a watchman or guardian, responsible for protecting the birds from harm. The reference to 'offspring of the Ibis' suggests that it is the living bird which he is to guard, not the mummies in their sepulchres.

The attendants of the Ibis are referred to generally as 'the servants of the ibises' (*nj sdm-rš n nj hbw*).² These occur entirely in the ibis reform texts, and in passages which leave little doubt that their duties were the routine ones of maintaining (perhaps feeding), and burying the ibises. They may have had a priestly function, although this is not stated, and it is more likely that, as with the workmen of Deir el-Medina, the title *sdm-rš* implies a menial status.³ It is also interesting to see that the *sdm-rš* are always said to be 'of the ibises' (in the concrete and plural), not 'of the Ibis', which latter would suggest that they dealt with the religious abstraction which lay beyond the birds themselves. Whatever the truth of this, it is clear that at the level of the *sdm-rš*, both ibises and hawks each had a separate corps of servants. Whether this was true of the higher orders is unknown.

In Text 33, 9, a man named Djehephibi is called 'the servant of the ibises'. Unless this individual is named as being particularly open to blame, we must assume that the singular term 'servant' means that he was the senior *sdm-rš*, an official or unofficial overseer, or a spokesman for his colleagues. From Greek texts we hear quite frequently of people called ἰβιοβοσκοί, feeders of ibises.⁴ No such demotic equivalent has appeared from our texts, and one wonders whether the Greek word is not simply the equivalent of *nj sdm-rš n nj hbw*. It is at any rate likely that the feeding of the birds, which plays such a large role in our texts, would have been among the duties of the 'servants', even if this was not the limit of their functions.

The activities of these servants were supervised by 'inspectors' (*mštw*). These officers were already known from the Prinz-Joachim ostraca.⁵ Their power over the servants is evident, but it

¹ See note *ad locum*, p. 106. ² See index for references.

³ Note the composition of the priesthood of Amenophis I described on a column-base from the village (Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 194-5 ff.). Here the *sdm-rš* is distinguished from the *hbw*.

⁴ Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka, 25 and literature cited. We also hear of feeders of hawks (ἰερακοβοσκοί), who may perhaps correspond to the *sdm-rš n pī blk*.

⁵ Op. cit. 14, n. 5.

is also clear that by 174 the familiar problem of guarding the guardians had raised itself. A former inspector, Onnofri son of Hapertais, was among the six men arraigned before the tribunal in Text 19, R° 20 ff. (where he seems to be listed among the 'servants'), and distrust of the inspectorate seems to have been one of the reasons for the appointment of a select body to supervise both the 'servants of the ibises' and the inspectors originally set over them; indeed, the problem resembled that of the Ramesside tomb-robber, who was easily controlled except when the police who controlled him were themselves corrupt.¹

In addition to these officials, there are occasional references to workers *en masse*. Text 19, V° 19 introduces us to 'the men who perform the burial' (*nṣ rmtw nty dit htp*), and Text 23, R° 15 to 'the man who performs service for the Ibis and his bandagings' (*pṣ rmt nty ir n pṣ hb irm nṣy f swtw*), probably an embalmer. Whether these anonymous workers were part of the corps of 'servants' (*sdm-ṣ*) is not stated, although it is likely that they were. Text 33, 6 mentions also 'the men who labour' (*nṣ rmtw nty ir-bṣk*). A further category, familiar to us from the stelae of the Serapeum and of the Mothers of the Apis, is that of the masons who excavated the galleries, the 'efficient carvers' (*by mnḥ*). These are not mentioned in our documents, although this need imply nothing about their existence.

Such was the administration of the ibis-cult at Saqqâra. Text 19 tells us something of its history. Affairs had been conducted well until the sixteenth year of Philopator (207/6); after this, for some untold reason, abuses had set in. The nature of these abuses is never described, but an outline may be deduced from the reforms which are most emphasized. Whenever the

burial of the ibises and hawks is mentioned, the phrase is added 'one god in one vessel' (*wr ntr n wrt mgt*).² Both birds were regularly bandaged and placed in earthenware jars, and Emery, when opening several jars, had already noticed that some were empty, or contained mere bones. He concluded that the empty jars represented an attempt by priests of the shrine to swindle the pilgrims, and it is very likely that such an irregularity lies behind this rather strange phrase in our texts. Text 21, 4-8 also gives details of payment for more efficient and careful bird-potting, doubtless in an attempt to correct this scandalous abuse.

It may also be that the funeral procession of the Ibis and the Hawk had become lax and disorganized, for the relevant passage in the texts always adds the phrase 'the appropriate priest in attendance' (*pṣ wrb n hrt f m-ṣṣ*);³ this gives an impression that absenteeism or impersonation had occurred. That peculation, fraud, or embezzlement had also been encountered is suggested very strongly by the elaborate precautions taken to secure the inspectors.⁴ They (i.e. probably their names inscribed on papyrus) are to be placed in a sealed box; this box is to be stored in the *hny* (storeroom?) of the special commissioners, or to be entrusted to the pastophoroi of the forecourt of the temple of Ptaḥ, for 'it has been decided not to trust the servants of the ibises and the servants of the Hawk when they perform its burial' (Text 22, V° 4-6).

Such deleterious practices continued throughout the reign of Epiphanes (205/4-180), in spite of this king's dedication of a chapel for the Apis at Memphis, and it was not until the eighth year of his successor, so Hor tells us, that attempts were made to suppress them.⁵ In October 174,

¹ Pap. Leopold-Amherst, 3, 1-5; *JEA* 22 (1936), 188 ff.

² Text 19, V° 8; 21, R° 18; 22, R° 14.

³ Text 19, V° 11-12; 21, V° 15.

⁴ Text 19, V° 12-14; 21, V° 15-21; 22, V° 1-6; 23, R° 17-19.

⁵ Some uncertainty surrounds the date of the relevant text; for discussion see notes to Text 21, R° 10, p. 84. For Epiphanes' Apis-shrine, cf. *Rosettana*, 33. A similar picture of neglect and dilapidation in the ibis-cult of Memphis is contained in Papyrus Louvre 3334, a petition dated to

according to our Text 21, a meeting took place of the council (*knbt*) of the temple of Memphis. The meeting had been summoned following an oracle of Thoth, and various resolutions were passed by the twenty-five deliberative priests who formed the governing body.¹ Three commissioners were to be appointed from among the priests to supervise the burial of the birds, and a scale of payments instituted. If our dating of the ostrakon is correct, this proposed reform can have had no effect, for a second meeting took place in Memphis on 31 May 172 (Text 19). The elders of the temple of Ptah, whose authority extended to the ibis-shrine of the Serapeum, met under the presidency of the royal ἐπιστάτης or controller (R° 16-17). On the following day, 1 June 172, six men, including a former inspector, were found guilty of irregularities, and imprisoned (R° 20-3). The council of twenty-five then passed another reform, to take effect with the next regnal year (i.e. from 5 October 172). This second reform was substantially that of the previous text, and we are not told why it was necessary to re-enact it.

The events of the sixth Syrian War now occupy our attention, and we gain no new information about the ibis-cult until the end of these hostilities. Text 23 preserves for us the date 18 September 167, over a year from the withdrawal of Antiochus from Egyptian territory. On this day Hetpanhūri, a magician attached to the cult of the Ibis, sent a document, apparently on the instigation of Hor of Sebennyos, to the royal controller. This document seems to have contained an interpretation of three oracles given by the god, and the sense of the interpretation was clearly to introduce more reforms. Here the excavation of the 'courtyard of the Ibis and the Hawk' is urged, and more measures are recommended, very similar to

the ones explained above, whose aim shall be 'to prevent any man having control over the god himself, when they perform his burial' (Text 23, R° 21-3). A further plea is added on the verso of the same text from Hor the secretary, that the magician should not fail to follow up these measures, and the evidence of the following text suggests that the plea was effective.

Some eighteen months elapse. On 16 April 165 the oracle of Thoth concerning the chapels of Egypt is interpreted (Texts 16 and 17), and Hor of Sebennyos acts again. Text 22 is dated to 13 June of the same year. In this the reforms have apparently taken effect, and regularity has at last been restored into the burial arrangements of the Ibis. The result of Hor's interview with the magician is to produce further reforms (R° 3-7). Five commissioners are now to be appointed, instead of the original three, and their functions are to be divided. Three are to continue their supervision of the burial itself, while the remaining two shall occupy themselves with the food of the ibises (R° 8-14). Payment is similarly reviewed (*verso*). After this, we hear little more of the cause of reform, and it would seem that the ibis-cult returned to its former well-being. By the summer of 158, the list of Philometor's donations stood in its chapel (Text 3, R° 15), and its population witnessed the arrival of Pharaoh and his Queen. Prosperity may have continued beyond the dark years of Ptolemy VIII, for this latter in 118 undertook to meet the burial expenses of Apis, Mnevis, and other sacred animals.² Hor of Sebennyos probably did not live to hear this announcement, and after his time the history of the ibis-shrine is known only as part of the larger history of the Memphite Serapeum. Yet none can doubt that, while Hor lived, he was a priceless witness.

¹ Year 7 of an unnamed king (Revillout, *Rev. Ég.* 2 (1882), 75-8). This text, which is badly in need of republication, may date to this unsettled period.

² It is not stated whether this was the council of the ibis-shrine, or of the temple of Ptah, but the former is perhaps more likely.

³ Pap. Tebt. I, 5, ll. 77-82.

Postscript

Some notice should perhaps be taken of the financial measures in the reform texts. The present writer can claim no special competence in this field, and is far from having read the relevant lines with any certainty; the following section is therefore tentative.

In Text 22, V° 1 reference is made to 'the moneys which are collected after this' (*nḥ hḏw nty tw-w twt m-sḥ nḥy*). This money was presumably drawn by the commissioners from the funds of the ibis-shrine. We know something of the income of our shrine. Much will have been derived from the land held in various parts of Memphis, even of the whole of Egypt (Text 16, R° 11); a further amount will have been represented by the government subsidy, the *syn-taxis* received annually as a contribution towards the salaries of priests (Text 33, 11), and a final proportion from the donations of pilgrims, either as contributions to the mummification of the birds, or in the form of bronzes or other temple furniture.¹ From this wealth the commissioners are instructed to make payments to the men employed in the funeral arrangements. The two fullest accounts are found in Text 19, V° 15–19, and Text 21, R° 12–18; V° 1–9, and it is comforting to find that they are in substantial agreement. The figures are expressed in 'payments' (*tn*), in full 'payments of the god' (*tn n ntr*),² and these figures are sometimes followed by amounts in 'silver' (*hḏ*, the demotic equivalent of the drachma). Many of the details are obscure, and the notes *ad loca* should be consulted.

Text 19

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| (a) Sum assessed for bandaging (etc.), | 2 <i>tn</i> : | <i>hḏ</i> 1 |
| (b) efficiency payment, | 1½ <i>tn</i> | |

¹ See in general the remarks of Kemp in Ucko, Tringham and Dumbleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972), 657 ff.

(c) 'its *gns*(?)'

(d) 'its *tw*',

½ *tn*: *hḏ* 1½
hḏ ½.

(Note that in (c) the word 'its' seems to refer to the efficiency; this is not grammatically possible for the entry in (d), which must refer to a masculine word, whether *tn* or the preceding *gns*.)

Text 21

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) until the three priests come to <i>Pr-wrb-nb</i> ·s, | 1 <i>tn</i> |
| (b) when they inspect the sanctuary and restore efficiency, | 3 <i>tn</i> |
| (c) sum assessed for bandaging (etc.), | 2 <i>tn</i> |
| (d) payment for untiring efficiency: its <i>pht</i> , | 1 <i>tn</i> |
| (e) 'its ⁴ <i>gns</i> (?)', | ½ <i>tn</i> : <i>hḏ</i> 1½ |
| (here it is noted that the remainder shall be paid at the gate of the courtyard) | |
| (f) until they assemble the people for the procession, | 1 <i>tn</i> . |

A few points seem clear. In each text, the sum assessed for bandaging and mummification is 2 *tn*. The list of Text 21 is fuller, including payment to be made before the burial proceedings. The payments proposed for efficiency (19 (b); 21 (d)) are probably optional, and the sum described as *gns*, if the interpretation of this word as 'fine' is correct, will have been deducted from the total (19 (c); 21 (e)). The use of the expression 'until' in 21 (a), (f) is interesting; the word is probably used in its limiting sense ('by' a certain date, as in Text 2, R° 6–7, where the date of Antiochus' withdrawal is forecast). If this is correct, payment will be in arrears, and will not occur before the duty has been carried out.

² Text 19, V° 15; 21, V° 3.

³ See textual note to Text 19, V° 17.

⁴ i.e. the efficiency.

The unknown quantity is the value of the *tn*. It is true that at several points sums are added in silver, but there seems no obvious rule for comparison between the two currencies. The silver sums are therefore not equivalents for the *tn*-payments, and seem to be additions to them. If this is correct, a *tn* may have been a large amount, for in 19 (c) a sum of $\frac{3}{4}$ *tn* is supplemented by $1\frac{1}{2}$ *hd*. It would therefore seem that $1\frac{1}{2}$ *hd* was worth less than $\frac{1}{4}$ *tn*, for otherwise the scribe would have written a unit $(1+x)$ *tn*. By this reckoning, a *tn* would be worth more than 6 *hd*. If this solution is unpalatable, it may be possible to avoid it by assuming that a *tn* was not a money-payment at all, but one in corn or the like, and that the *hd*-figures are supplementary payments in coin. This second explanation has much to recommend it; but a clearer explanation may be gained only by a detailed study of economic sources, a study which lies outside the scope of the present work and beyond the competence of its author.¹

§ 5: The topography of Memphis

It remains for us, after discussing the contents of Hor's writings, to place their author in his setting. We have seen that much of his life was spent in travel, from his home town of Pi(?)Thoth to the 'town of Isis', from Sebennytos to the shrines of Buto and Heliopolis, during the war against Antiochus to Alexandria and its

temple of Sarapis, even into the presence of his sovereign. But it is his eventual home, Memphis, and more particularly the northern part of its necropolis, which occupies the greatest part of our attention. Hor was not a geographer, and his descriptions of towns and temples are merely incidental to his theme; but there is no reason to suppose that he invented buildings which did not exist, or that confused descriptions would have passed the notice either of himself or of his secretary, and we may therefore place some confidence in his directions. Our findings are embodied in the maps given as Figs. 3 and 4 at the end of this commentary.

It is not surprising that Memphis, and the name of its necropolis, *ḥnḥ-twy*, should appear so commonly in our documents.² In Text 8, R° 12-13, at the beginning of a dream-account, Hor describes himself as 'in the *ḥny* of Memphis', and if this term has been rightly identified, it too will be a name for this necropolis.³ Yet the drift of our texts is not entirely towards the funereal; Text 19, R° 15 ff. shows us the forecourt of the great temple of Ptah, used as the setting for a council of priests.⁴ Six men are condemned by this tribunal, and are conveyed to a prison (ibid. 23). This presumably also lay in Memphis. Another and more elusive feature of the capital is seen in three texts.⁵ The 'dam of the southern dyke in Memphis' seems to be the assembly place of the gods of Lower Egypt (Text 11); in Text 24B it is qualified as 'the great dam'. No

¹ I have left out of consideration, for example, the inflation of coinage which is known to have taken place in Egypt after 217. The sharp changes in the value of money during this period may well have been critical in producing our reforms; they may even have been a major cause of the abuses described above. Such a situation would almost certainly have provoked the regulations specifying the amounts to be paid. Modern parallels for this 'wage-fixing' are of course not hard to find. For the inflation in copper during this period, cf. Reekmans, *Studia Hellenica*, 5 (1948), 15 ff., and *Cd'É* 24 (1949), 324 ff.

² See index for detailed references. For *ḥnḥ-twy* see Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 214-15; also Westendorf, *ZAS* (1966), 153 ff., and Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, 44-5,

where the idea is proposed that the name signified 'binding-knot of the two lands'. This may be so, although a doubt lurks. In the Late Period, the term seems to have been a general one for the entire necropolis area of the desert west of Memphis, and particularly the northern sector where lay the shrines of Osorapis, Isis mother of the Apis, Thoth the Ibis, Imhōtep, Anubis, and Bastet, 'lady of 'Ankhtawy'. This area as a whole was also commonly termed 'the Serapeum'.

³ See note *ad locum*, p. 40.

⁴ A more genuinely ritual use of this same feature is seen in Text 25, 6-7: *n w'bw nty ḥk m-bḥ Ptḥ n wshyt*.

⁵ See notes to Texts 11, V° 2-3, p. 50; 15, V° 4 (p. 60); 24B, 5 (p. 91), and the section on the administration of the ibis-cult above.

other information is forthcoming, and the subject must be left unsolved. It is regrettable that Hor tells us little of the great city where he must often have walked, and our attention must turn to its necropolis, on the high desert *gebel* where for three millennia its dead had already rested.

Upon a bluff of the western desert lay the temple of Osorapis, the great god, and the other shrines of 'the gods who rest in the necropolis of the house of Osorapis'.¹ The nature of this temple with its hypogeum, cult, and oracle is well known from early discoveries, archaeological (Mariette) and philological (notably Wilcken), and shall not be repeated here. One feature of the buildings does claim attention, however; the great dromos (*hft-hr*), a sphinx-lined avenue, ran from the main temple of the bull-god due east towards the cultivation, terminating in the buildings known to Mariette as the 'Greek Serapeum', to the Egyptians as the Anubieion (*Pr-hn-'Inp*).² This bold feature, which formed an obvious point of reference for the inhabitants, is mentioned in Text 8, R° 14, where Hor describes himself as going up from the valley to the desert plateau.

The term 'Serapeum' was not confined to the temple of the deified bull, but was extended to cover the entire area enclosed by the dromos and a second 'great street', where the other animal-cults were situated. In this sense, both the ibis- and hawk-cults and several others could all be said to lie within the Serapeum, and an employee of the ibis-cult in UPZ 119, 17 describes himself as 'an ibis-feeder from those of the Serapeum'. It is probably in this extended sense that the ibis reform texts refer to 'assem-

bling the people of the Serapeum' (*thm p: mšr n Pr-Wstr-Hp*) for a procession.³

Another detail of the Serapeum should also be considered in this light. In Text 8, R° 23-4; V° 6 Hor dreams that he shall be buried in 'the house of rest of the Serapeum'. This is probably the same as 'the house of rest of the House of Apis' of Text 9, V° 9. This would normally be taken as a description of the underground bull-sepulchre, but it seems an unlikely wish to be buried in the vaults of the Apis. The phrase perhaps refers to a human cemetery near by, similar to the group of priestly graves found 'north of the Serapeum' by Mariette.⁴ The location of this cemetery (if we assume that Hor had a definite site in mind, which he may not) is unknown.

In our texts, the title 'Serapeum' (*Pr-Wstr-Hp*) is sometimes linked with a 'sister' locality, with the name of Hepnēbes (*Hp-nb·s*).⁵ This link is well expressed in the prooemium of Text 13 (4-6), 'Come to me my great lord Osorapis, the great god, and the gods who rest in the necropolis of the Serapeum, and the necropolis of Hepnēbes, together with those who rest upon the sleeping-place of the House of Thoth'. The name Hepnēbes has long been known as the description of part of the Memphite necropolis, but it was impossible to define it more closely. Early references are collected by Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, iv. 10, and a notable example is found in the autobiographical inscription of Pshenptah, son of Petubasti, high priest of Memphis (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 941), who held priestly offices of nearly all the Serapeum deities. Pap. BM. 10299, a document of the Later New Kingdom,⁶ has a mention (l. 3) of 'Sokar-Henu in

¹ Text 13, 4. For a rough description of this site in the Ptolemaic period see Ray in Ucko, Tringham, and Dimbleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972), 699 ff. and literature cited.

² For the dromos, among the literature mentioned in the previous note, see especially Guilmot, *Cd'É* 37 (1962), 362 ff., and the observations of F. de Cenival, *Associations*, i. 41-2; for the Anubieion, Wilcken, *UPZ* i. 577; De Meulenaere, *Cd'É* 35 (1960), 94, 103-4; and the cautious remarks

of Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum* (Oslo, 1972), 40. See further de Cenival, *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 11 ff.

³ Text 19, V° 10; 21, V° 12. For the wider use of the term, cf. Guilmot, op. cit. 364, n. 7.

⁴ *Mémoire sur la mère d'Apis*, 14.

⁵ See index for detailed references.

⁶ Caminos, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 20 ascribes it to Dynasty XXI.

the midst of the *štyt* of *Hṣp(t)-nb-s'*, an earlier form of our name.¹ Now the evidence of the stelae from the galleries of the Mothers of the Apis² leaves little doubt that, at least in the Late Period, *Hṣ-nb-s* was the site of the funerary temple and burial-place of these animals. As such the name will have covered the area of the galleries, as well as the great temple platform with its shrines, dedicated perhaps to Osorapis and the Mother of the Apis (under the form of Isis), with side-chapels devoted to 'Osiris the baboon' and other manifestations of the god Thoth.³ Evidence will be given below to show that it also covered the galleries of the Ibis and the Hawk. A list of the gods of the place, the 'great souls of Hēpnēbes', is given in Text 19, R° 5-9, and includes most of the major gods of Egypt.

Several buildings of Hēpnēbes are named in our texts. Text 22, R° 10-11 refers to the 'embalming-place' (*wrbt*) of Hēpnēbes, in a context which is clearly describing the cult of the Ibis. This would be natural, for the greater animals, such as Apis and his mother, were probably embalmed at Memphis, by the temples in which they had spent their lives.⁴ The same may well have applied to the baboons, which were kept in the temple of Ptaḥ 'under his moringa-tree'. The hawks and ibises, on the contrary, were probably maintained near, and embalmed by, the galleries in which they were destined to rest.

In Text 22, R° 3-4 Hōr describes how he 'stood with the magician at the gate of the *wmtt* of Hēpnēbes'. The word *wmtt* seems to have been used indiscriminately to refer to a tower, or to a high walled enclosure.⁵ This seems an excellent description of the large compound,

surrounded by brick walls, which formed the forecourt to the temple platform (*JEA* 55 (1969), pl. XI); immediately to the north of this, however, lay the pedestals for another large gateway, directly to the west of the entrance of the so-called Iseum, the burial-place of the Mothers of the Apis. Either this gateway, or the great western entrance to the compound, may be the gate by which Hōr stood with the magician in June 165. Gateways were regular meeting-places, sites of dispensing justice, or of swearing oaths.⁶ Another gateway, a 'corner gate' (*rḥ khy*), occurs in Text 30, 4 as the place where Hōr the secretary receives documents. The context is not certain, but if correctly read, the term may be a fit description for the northern gate, leading to the Iseum, which stood outside the north-west corner of the great compound. In this case, the site of Hōr's interview in Text 22 would be the gate of the great brick compound. Further evidence is required to test these identifications.

In addition to these buildings above ground, it is possible that the subterranean galleries of the Iseum are recalled in the title of Isis given in Text 10, R° 2 as *nbt knhy*, 'lady of the vault'.⁷

We have already seen from Text 22, R° 4 and other passages that the shrine of the Ibis was thought to be situated in Hēpnēbes, and indeed this is not surprising to anyone who, studying the excavation plans, sees the complex of ibis-galleries which lie immediately to the south of the brick compound and the vaults of the Mothers of the Apis. It is clear, however, that the area covered by the ibis-cult also had a second name of its own. This is the *Pr-wrb-nb-s*, 'Abaton-of-her-lord' of Text 21, R° 7, 13; V° 12-13. Here the burial of the ibises is said to

¹ The name 'concealer-of-her-lord' is thus an example of a common type, as is the Theban toponym *hftt-hr-nb-s*, 'opposite-her-lord', or possibly 'dromos-of-her-lord'.

² In the process of publication by Smith and others.

³ Preliminary report in *JEA* 55 (1969), 31 ff.

⁴ El-Amir, *JEA* 34 (1948), 51 ff.

⁵ See note *ad locum*, p. 86.

⁶ Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempelide*, 21 ff.

⁷ The term is of course also known in the meaning 'naos, shrine' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 541), but the use to describe the burial vaults of the Apis (cf. *ZAS* 50 (1912), 32) and his mothers is so common in the Serapeum that one would expect the word to convey this meaning to a local scribe.

assembly for
funeral
procession

take place, here the inspectors to come at the time of the burial, and here the 'people of the Serapeum' to be assembled for the funeral procession. The name Pi-wa^cb-nēbes is not known from any other text, where it is always replaced by Hepnēbes, and it seems that the word was a local identification only, used perhaps to differentiate the ibis-cult from that of the adjoining 'Iseum'. In rough parlance it was probably included in the more conspicuous area, just as Hepnēbes itself was loosely said to fall within the 'House of Osorapis'.

lady

The sanctuary of the Ibis was known as *Pr-Dhwtj*, the 'House of Thoth'.¹ The fullest description of this shrine and its setting comes in the opening lines of Text 23 (R° 2-6): 'the house of Thoth, which is upon the southern mountain of the Serapeum which is in Memphis, (from Hōr) who serves his days in Hepnēbes, in the desert of the House of Osiris (*Pr-Wstr*) which is upon the mountain of the north of the necropolis of 'Ankhtawy'. This important description may be explained as follows (see map which concludes this section): the 'north of the necropolis of 'Ankhtawy' is little more than the equivalent of the modern North Saqqāra. The 'mountain' (which corresponds to the modern *gebel*) is presumably the low plateau containing both the archaic cemetery of Dynasties I and II, and the later *mastabas* of the Old Kingdom. The galleries of the various animal-cults, ranging from north to south through ibises to cows, baboons, hawks, and ibises again, are cut into the western face of this plateau. It is true that a passage such as Text 21, R° 7-8 refers to 'the houses of rest which are *upon* the mountain', but this is perhaps a legitimate extension of what is, even for the Egyptian language, a very vague preposition. The expression 'desert of the House of Osiris' (*hst n Pr-Wstr*) is more difficult to place. One

Abu

would expect a group such as *Pr-Wstr* to refer to a temple complex of Osiris, but none is known, in spite of the large number of bronzes of this god found during the excavations. Another explanation is therefore needed, and one turns to the near-by village of Abusir. It is true that hardly anything is known of this settlement before the tenth century A.D., although a Byzantine text found during the excavations does mention a village of Βουσίρις, but it is *a priori* likely that the modern name conceals an original *Pr-Wstr*. It is possible that the known toponym *Pr-Wstr-rwd-lswt*, which will recur below in connection with the feature known as 'the Peak', may have given its name to the village. The phrase 'desert of Pi-osiri' would then be merely a further attempt to specify the exact locality. Textual support for this assumption is lacking,² but it would be an excellent description of the known site of Hepnēbes. More problematic is the description of the House of Thoth as lying 'upon the southern mountain of the Memphite Serapeum'. There is nothing at first sight particularly southerly about the ibis-galleries, all of which lie well to the north of the Serapeum proper. There are, however, two sets of galleries, one to the south of the great brick compound, another, partially cleared in the season of 1970/1, to the north of it and set into a spur of the *gebel* (see map, Fig. 4). It may be that Hōr is trying to distinguish the southern group of galleries and buildings from the northern. This would provide very useful evidence for the relative dates of the two complexes, but the passage is unfortunately not conclusive.

Other buildings of the ibis-cult, notably the courtyard (*inhj*) of the Ibis and the Hawk, have been discussed in § 4 above. There remain two features of the Serapeum which are mentioned occasionally in our texts: the lake and the peak.

¹ Detailed references in the index; see also the account of its administration in the section above, and Smither, *JEA* 34 (1948), 35-7.

² The phrase *pr hst n Pr-Wstr* in 58, 12 is too isolated to be of help. See however *OGIS* ii. 761, l. 8 (Athribis, 95 B.C.), and n. 5 on p. 150 below.

Of the lake (*pj šl*) there is little to be said. Isis in Text 10, 3-4 is called 'the great goddess of the *wady* (a rough translation of the demotic *hym*) of the lake'. Reasons have already been given in the previous section for identifying this lake with the 'Pool of Abusir', a feature of older maps, whose dried-up bed may still be seen at the entrance to the desert *wady* which leads south to the Serapeum. It may also correspond to the *λίμνη* of several Greek texts from the site. In Text 33, 2 this lake is qualified as 'the lake of Pharaoh' (*pj šl n Pr-ri*). This grandiose epithet probably means little more than that it was put to public use.¹ In the same text we are told that the lake was the site for a 'chapel of birth' of the ibis, and it is very likely that large pens and other buildings for housing the birds stood on its banks. The interesting inscription of Pshenptah son of Petubasti (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 941, l. 3) adds that, in addition to many other offices, this important official held a priesthood of the Ram, lord of Mendes (*Bj-nb-Ddt*) 'at the head of the lake of Pharaoh' (*hnty šl n Pr-ri*). The same deity is named in the headings of several stelae from the 'Iseum', and fragments of ram-mummies have been discovered by the mud-brick buildings which lay to the north of the southernmost ibis-galleries. The exact position of the shrine (and no doubt galleries) of this sacred ram is still unknown, and the words *hnty šl n Pr-ri* may apply to any point along the Serapeum *wady*; further excavation is required to locate the Lord of Mendes.

More controversial is the second feature, the peak. The word used (*thn(y)t*, in its older form *dhnt*)² is a common one for a crag or bluff overlooking the valley, and survives in place-names to this day.³ At Memphis, the particular con-

notations of 'the Peak' have been well summarized by De Meulenaere.⁴ The name corresponded to an area containing a temple, and devoted to several cults, prominent among which was that of Imhōtep. This link is brought out in Text 18, V° 2-3, where this same god is characterized as 'offspring(?) of south-of-his-wall (i.e. Ptaḥ), [lord] of the Peak (*thn*), lord of 'Ankhtawy in Memphis'. The researches of De Meulenaere and others have shown that this 'Peak', at least in the Ptolemaic period, was surrounded by walls and contained its own temple (*ht-ntr*); furthermore there is some evidence to suggest that the area which bore this name contained several smaller cult-sanctuaries, notably that of Anubis (which is well attested) and of Osiris *rwd-iswt* (a site almost unknown).⁵ It would also seem that the great temple of Imhōtep stood on this Peak, or at least close enough to it to be linked with it in ordinary speech. It is in this light that we should view the description of our Text 23, V° 21-3, 'the men, the pastophoroi, and those who are over the windows of the forecourt of the temple of the Peak'. These officials are urged to exercise care in their dealings with the Ibis. From this description several points are clear; the temple (again the word *ht-ntr* is used) of the Peak contained pastophoroi. This is confirmed by the inscription of another High Priest of Memphis, Petineftēm,⁶ who in addition to his Memphite offices, was 'overseer of mysteries in the lake' (quite possibly the feature discussed above; the hieroglyphic version gives *cnh-tswy*, rather more drily), 'scribe of the treasury of the temple of the Peak', and 'scribe [...] of the pastophoroi of Imhōtep, son of Ptaḥ, the great god.'⁷ Wilcken

¹ As in the common *hyr n Pr-ri* 'public street', and *(y)š n Pr-ri* 'public auction', Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 1 (1971), 79.

² See philological note to Text 23, V° 23, p. 88.

³ Gardiner, *AEO*, ii. 93*; Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 53 (1917), 1-2.

⁴ *Cd'E* 35 (1960), 104 ff.

⁵ Unfortunately there is no good evidence to link this name

with that of the village *Pr-Wsr* (Abusir), although the equation is tempting; Yoyotte, *GLECS* 8 (1959), 59.

⁶ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 887-8; this and other biographical inscriptions most recently rediscussed by Otto, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 203 ff.

⁷ Another interesting inscription in this series is that of Esḳite (Brugsch, 907), who in addition to holding a rather

(UPZ i. 45-6) has collected the Greek evidence for pastophoroi and for their shrines (*pastophoria*) at the Serapeum, and it is quite possible that some at least of these should be located in the area of the Peak.

In addition to the pastophoroi, we are also told that the forecourt of the temple of the Peak possessed windows (*šštw* for the older *ššdw*). These are in all probability windows of appearance, a common enough feature of Egyptian temples and palaces. 'Anemho was 'prophet of Horus of the window of appearance' (*hm-ntr n ššd n hr*) and Horus is also known as a deity of a window of appearance in another biographical inscription from the Serapeum.¹ Whether this implies that a falcon or falcons was exhibited in the forecourt of the temple of the Peak, as happened on festival occasions at Edfu, is uncertain, and such questions must await the excavation of the site.

Let us attempt to combine this evidence. The temple of 'the Peak' included, or was closely connected with, the cults of Bastet, Anubis, Osiris *rwđ iswt*, and Imhōtep. It was therefore located in part, or possibly the whole, of the complex at the end of the dromos termed by the early excavators 'the Greek Serapeum'. The evidence of Pap. Louvre 2412, 4, suggests that the cult of Imhōtep also possessed a vault or cavern (*tpht*) of the god.² In the forecourt (*wshyt*) of the temple were windows, probably of appearance; and attached to this forecourt were pastophoroi (*wnw*) whose authority extended at least in part over the cult of the Ibis and the Hawk.³ We may reasonably conclude that Hor was no stranger to the temple of the Peak, for either he or his secretary must have

spoken with the magician of Imhōtep when seeking an interpretation for the oracle of Thoth (Texts 16, 17). Thus the irony that the search for the temple of Imhōtep, which was one of the motives for the excavation of Hepnēbes and its shrines, has produced more evidence to lead us to its source.

Postscript

Of some relevance here may be a small wooden plaque excavated at Saqqāra during the season of 1967/8. It bears the excavator's number H6-161 [1957], and will be published by the excavators in due course.⁴ It was discovered in the loose fill (*radīm*) outside the western wall of the great temple enclosure, and bears a short inscription incised in demotic.

1. *t: sbt(t) n Dhwtj nb Hmnw*
2. *r: inhj rs*
3. *Pr-Wstr-Hp.*

1. The compound of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis:
2. the gate (of) the southern courtyard
3. (of) the Serapeum.

The word 'compound' (*sbt*) has a respectable history of learned discussion; Reich (*Mizraim*, i (1933), 58 ff.) discoursed upon the meaning of similar features in the Serapeum dedicated to Horus, Isis, and Sakhmis, and concluded that they were 'hill-compounds'. Guilmot (*CdE* 35 (1962), 367 ff.) seems to have agreed with this interpretation, and sought to locate these sanctuaries within the precinct of the temple of Osorapis himself. This is possible, although the resultant map is very crowded, and the shrines pictured are rather small to occupy the prominent

obscure priesthood in the Peak, was also 'scribe of the rations (*hrt*) of the Cow in the temple of Memphis'. This cow is almost certainly the Mother of the Apis; the date is Year 38 of Philadelphus.

¹ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 904, 9-10 and 914, 5.

² See notes to 'Text 2, R° 2, p. 15. The nature of this 'cavern' is uncertain, although the possibility arises that it

represented the burial chamber of the sage's tomb. Note too the legend of 'Joseph's prison' discussed by Stricker, *Acta Orientalia*, 19, i (1941), 101 ff.

³ Note again, in the light of the explanation of pastophoroi given at the end of § 3 above, that these priests are attached to the forecourt, the public part of the temple.

⁴ Now in the British Museum, no. 67225.

THE COMMENTARIES

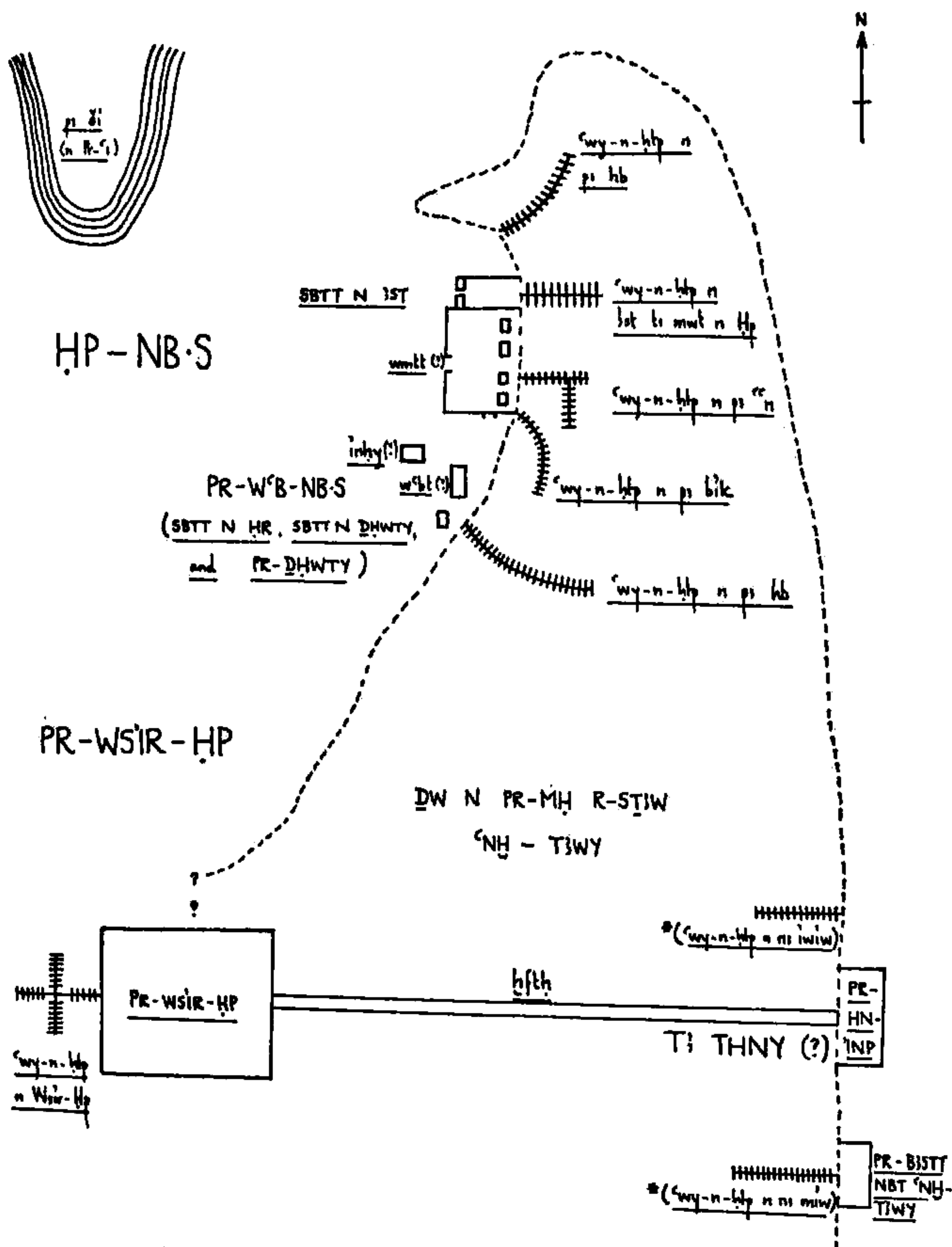


FIG. 3. Sketch map of the Memphite Serapeum, with ancient names.

THE COMMENTARIES

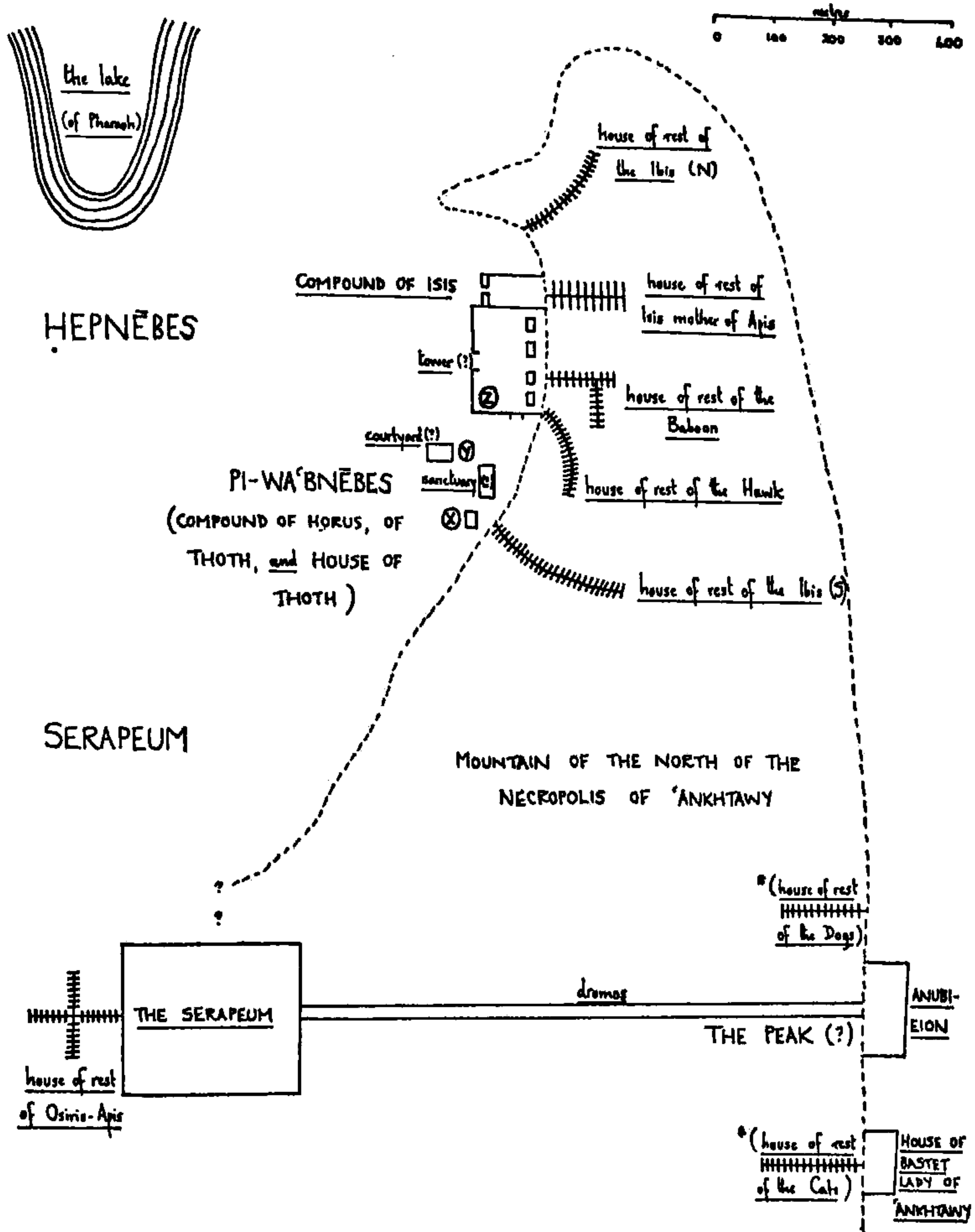


FIG. 4. Translation of fig. 3.

X = Findspot of the main archive; Y = Findspot of Texts 6, 10 and 21; Z = Findspot of Text 33.

place given to them in the papyri, where individual houses are confidently located by reference to them. If we take the designation 'Serapeum' in the wider sense, as referring to the entire settlement which covered the northern mountain of 'Ankhtawy, it then becomes possible to relieve the congestion of Guilmot's map. It is unlikely that a plaque describing a minor chapel of the Serapeum precinct should be discovered far to the north of the temple proper, but not implausible that its inscription should refer to one or more of the ibis-buildings near by. On this same argument the 'compound (*sbtt*) of Horus' would be the precinct of the hawk-cult, and the 'compound of Isis' would be a part of the sacred buildings of the Mothers of the Apis.¹ The fourth compound, that of Sakhmis, is unknown, and the descriptions of the papyri are vague. Perhaps it too lay on the line

running north from the Serapeum towards the 'lake of Pharaoh'. If so, the tantalizing prospect of a lioness-gallery may lie before future excavators; but this is unproven.²

The third line of our wooden plaque is something of a mystery; the 'southern courtyard of the Serapeum' seems a bad description of a feature so far to the north. We are reminded of the similar problem in Text 23, R^o 2-4, where the area of the 'house of Thoth' is said to lie 'on the southern mountain of the Serapeum'. This strange description was explained tentatively as an attempt to distinguish the two groups of ibis-galleries, south and north of the 'Iseum'. A similar explanation may lie behind the 'southern courtyard' of our plaque; but certainty in such matters, as in so many others, must await the hand and notebook of the excavator.

¹ See maps, pp. 152-3.

² A fragmentary Greek papyrus discovered in the *sondage* of El-Khouli at Saqqâra by the Serapeum proper (see note

to Text 1, 2, p. 9 above) bears the phrase ταφή καὶ τροφή τῶν λεόντων 'burial and nourishment of the lions'; but the context is still too vague for any bouts of theory.

IV. APPENDICES

§ 1: The titles of Isis

THE paramount importance assumed by Isis during the Hellenistic period in the religion not only of her native Egypt, but of the entire Graeco-Roman world, is of course well known, and literature upon this subject is now legion. Primary sources from our period are, however, rare; hieroglyphic texts, beside the information contained in the opening sections of the Metternich Stela and the Bremner-Rhind papyrus,¹ are confined to the difficult and disparate inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman temples. Litanies to the goddess are preserved in Pap. Dem. Heidelberg 736 (Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 53 (1917), 33-4 and pl. 8), and in Greek in Pap. Oxyrhynchus 1380 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ix. 301 ff.). The various Greek aretalogies, which are expressly said in some cases to derive from Memphite originals, are also of great value. The most recent studies are now summarized in the *Répertoire analytique des travaux relatifs à la diffusion des cultes isiaques, 1940-1969 (IBIS)*, edited by J. Leclant, while much epigraphical material is grouped in L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Berlin, 1969). Recent publications include the latter's *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1970), as well as D. Müller's *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Berlin, 1961); M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom alten Reich bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1968); J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968), and R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (London, 1971); these latter are quoted extensively below and are abbreviated to the names of their authors. In addition to these works, unpublished dissertations by Fr. Dunand and A. Forgeau are signalled in *Annuaire de l'É.P.H.É. (Sect. Sci.-Relig.)*, 79 (1971-2), 199, 205. It is therefore clear that the material of our present ostraca will provoke much discussion. The titles of the goddess have been divided arbitrarily and are numbered consecutively.

¹ Conveniently published in the editions of Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela* (= *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, 7, Copenhagen, 1956) and Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (*British Museum No. 10188*) (= *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, 3, Brussels, 1933).

(a) Titles emphasizing her greatness

1. *hntwt* 'mistress': Text 8, V° 3 (in *hnt n-t try-t hntwt* 3st; 9, R° 11; 28, 15 (*try-s hntwt*)).

A very common epithet of goddesses, cf. *Wb.* iii. 107.

2. *ts ntrt rst* 'the great goddess': Text 1, 12 (*ts ntrt rst n pty Kmy p ts Hr*); 2, V° 14; 10, R° 8; 47, 1(?)

Again common. The association with Egypt in 1, 12 is natural, but the reference to Syria is interesting. Pap. Oxyrh. 1380 locates her cult in various towns of the coast, notably Gaza, Ascalon, and Berytus (cf. Witt, 109). Such insistence may have added weight to the Ptolemaic claim to Coele-Syria; intermittent though this was, the reign of Philometor was characterized by a strong desire to recover this territory. Hor's reference may therefore have been intentional, designed to secure the king's good will. Isis as guardian of home affairs is recalled in Text 3, R° 7 *nts (ts) nty hrh p khy n Kmy*.

3. (*ts*) *wryt* 'the great one': with article, Text 24A, 5; without, as 3st *wry(t)*, 10, R° 3, 7.

The Greek equivalent (Θ)ουῆρις is common, as is the composite Ἑσουῆρις (Preisigke, 109), cf. Bergman, 156, n. 3, 270, n. 8.

4. *ts wrt wrt-s* 'the one alone': Text 3, R° 24, preceded by *tw-s rh wrt-s*. A natural expression for the uniqueness of the goddess. A Greek transcription θιουῖν is attested in the Isis hymn from Medînet Mâdi (Bergman, 225 and esp. n. 1).² This fact alone suggests a strong Egyptian influence upon these texts.

5. *nbt pt hnt ts* 'lady of heaven and earth': Text 10, R° 10.

The epithet *nbt pt* is dealt with in Bergman, 162-3. Isis οὐρανία is well known, and even the speech put into her mouth beginning ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ θεῶν

² The Coptic equivalent 𐩢𐩣𐩠 (Fayyumic), in which the -oγ- is a consonant, shows that the accentuation of the Greek should be revised from the θιουῖν of the publications.

APPENDICES

ἡ καλουμένη Οὐρανός (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 753). Lucius in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 2 opens his address to the goddess with the words *regina caeli*. One is reminded of the claim in Text 9, R^o 10, *dt-t wih t: pt*,¹ and such words recur in the Aretalogy of Cyme 12, ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ (Bergman, 301), a phrase which introduces the earth (*hnr t:*) of our present example. The phrase in Text 10 concludes with the additional *nbt bcy* 'lady of the sepulchre', thus making of the goddess a universal deity, an aspect well brought out by Apuleius (xi. 4), where she introduces herself as *rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina* (nbt tm nb), *saeculorum progenies initialis, summa numinum* (nbt ntrw), *regina manium* (nbt bcy?), *prima caelitum* (nbt pt), *deorum dearumque facies uniformis, quae caeli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferum deplorata silentia nutibus meis dispenso*. Again the resemblance is marked.

6. *lw-s mšc rdwy-s hr hr p: mw (n) p: ym (n) Hr* 'walking upon the face of the water(s) of the Syrian sea': Text 1, 12-13; cf. 47, 1-2.

Although a description rather than a title, the connotations are those of a common role of Isis, one which may well have influenced the form of a dream. She was regularly a goddess of harbours, λιμενίτις, especially at Alexandria (Text 1, 14 *ph-s p: rwy-n-mr n Rr-kd*), cf. also Cyme 43 ἐγὼ πρᾶνῶ καὶ κυμαίνῶ θάλασσαν (reminiscent of the *maris salubria flamina* of Apuleius) and 49 ἐγὼ ναυτιλίας εἰμι κυρία (Bergman, 302); for Ἰσις Φαρία cf. Witt, 126. Nevertheless it remains true that the land-bound Hor makes little of this aspect of the goddess.

7. Two attributes of the goddess are listed in Text 10, R^o 12-13: *hst* 'praise', which is said to be among men, and *šfy* 'prestige', which is located among the gods. For the latter cf. Bergman, 182, 190 and the remarks of Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 45-6.

(b) Isis as a royal goddess

8. *t: Pr-rt tm nb (nty wih-shn n p: t: dr:f)* 'the Queen of all entirety, who holds sway in the entire land': Text 3, V^o 6; 10, R^o 16; without the second epithet, Text 6, V^o x+9.

The merits of the alternative reading *twr nb* are

discussed in the note to Text 10, R^o 16. For *tm(m)* cf. *Wb.* v, 305; the whole title probably corresponds to the παντοκράτειρα of Witt, 145. With the addition of *p: t: dr:f* the phrase begins to look like the original of the common ἡ βασιλισσα (Bergman, 29, 161)/τύραννος (op. cit. 149, 301) πάσης χώρας; for the alternation between the translations 'whole earth' and 'every land' see note 4 to 149-50. The expression is yet another tribute to the universal role of the goddess. The words (n) *p: t: dr:f* are also added to *t: ntrt rst* in Text 10, R^o 7.

9. *t: nbt t:wy* 'the lady of the two lands': Text 1, 10; 10, R^o 3.

This queenly title needs little more by way of credentials than *Wb.* v. 218, 2; Bergman, 153.

10. *t: nbt t: grpyt* 'the lady of the diadem': Text 3, R^o 5-6; cf. Text 6 (?).

Perhaps a description rather than a standard title: see notes *ad loca*.

11. *t: nbt rry* 'the lady of (the) uraeus': Text 10, R^o 2-3.

For the associations, cf. Witt, 34.

For the entire subject, cf. Bergman, 146-71. The role of Isis as a goddess of the throne is well brought out in the opening of the verso to Text 3, where she is pictured as bringing the royal diadem to Pharaoh's descendants in the temple of Memphis, traditional and (since the crowning of Ptolemy V) actual site of the royal coronation. The special protection of the goddess is invoked for the earthly queen in the sadly damaged lines of Text 28.

(c) Isis as mother and lover

12. *mwot-ntr* 'god's mother': Text 10, R^o 3, 7, 8(?), in each case preceded by *šst wryt*.

This title seems originally to have meant 'mother of the god' (i.e. Horus, *Wb.* ii. 54), in conformity with the principle of the direct genitive that both nouns are essentially definite (Bakir, *JEA* 52 (1966), 35), but the Greek equivalent μήτηρ θεῶν (Bergman, 274) implies that the idea was understood in a more general sense. That the specific notion of the motherhood of Horus was not forgotten, however, is shown by Cyme 8 (Bergman, 301) ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ ὧρου βασιλέως. The ex-

¹ See note *ad locum*.

tension of this relationship to cover all children, or the sick seen as helpless infants, is familiar from the magical texts.¹ The power of Isis over birth and the newly-born is expressed in such Greek texts as Cyme 18.

13. *nbt mrt* 'lady of love': Text 10, R^o 8.

Another Egyptian concept amply grasped by the Greeks, cf. Cyme, 27 ἐγὼ στέργεσθαι γυναῖκας ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἡνάγκασα. For the rich identification of Isis with Aphrodite cf. Vandebek, *De Interpretatio graeca van de Isisfigur* (Louvain, 1946).

(d) *Isis and the worshipper*

14. *šry* 'fate' and *špšy* 'uraeus-goddess'. These two concepts are associated with the goddess in Text 3, R^o 4, and identified with her in Text 10, R^o 8-9. For iconographic and other parallels see note to Text 3, R^o 4, and Dunand, 'Les représentations de l'Agathodaemon à propos de quelques bas-reliefs du Musée d'Alexandrie' in *BIFAO* 67 (1969), 9 ff. The place of Isis as a goddess of fate is recognized by her identification at Alexandria with the concept of Tyche, and a very close parallel to the themes of Text 3 is shown by a representation (Dunand, op. cit. 37) of an amuletic ibis holding a caduceus and inscribed ΘΑΥΤ ΨΑΕ (*Dhwtj pš šry*); the second female serpent will then correspond to *špšy* and Isis-Thermouthis. Here too we have a close association of Isis and Thoth which in all probability springs from the same source as the statement of Text 3, R^o 16 that the god was the father of the goddess. Such a belief may possibly have arisen at North Saqqāra itself, see note *ad locum* above.

Closely linked with the idea of Isis as fate is the notion of her as inaugurator of time: in Text 3, R^o 5-6 she 'opens' a new year. This is more than a passing conceit, for Isis is regularly identified with the dog-star Sothis (*Spdt*), whose heliacal rising coincided with the Nile flood. This idea

too passes into Greek, cf. Cyme, 9 ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κυνὸς ἀστρῷ ἐπιτέλλουσα, and the litany Pap. Oxyrh. 1380, 203 ff.

15. In *incubation*. Text 9 of the present archive makes clear this function of the goddess; see Commentary § 3 above. Such an important role as the defender of the suppliant (Ἰσις ἐπήκοος) is also clear from passages such as Diodorus I, 25.

16. *wrt hk* 'great of magic': Text 18, R^o 14. A function familiar from the magic- and healing-texts described above; cf. also Sbordone, *Iside maga*, in *Aegyptus* 26 (1946), 130; Bergman, 285-9.

17. The *mdt-nfrt*.

The fullest description of the benefits which Isis confers upon the faithful worshipper occurs in Text 10, R^o 13-14, 'for thou givest sustenance to a man throughout his days of life, and when he dies, thou art the one that suppliest (his) burial'. In the following lines these boons are prescribed for Hor himself. In Text 9, and possibly 11, burial is also at the bestowal of the goddess. The matter is discussed in the Commentary, § 3; here the most important feature is the similarity to the denouement of Apuleius, where the same goddess claims the devotion of the worshipper Lucius for the rest of his life, and promises (XI, 6): *vives in mea tutela gloriosus; et cum spatium saeculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis, ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semitotundo me, quam vides . . . tibi propitiam frequens adorabis*. The whole relationship is summed up in the descriptive line of Text 8, 18: *šst dd mrt n nš nty mrt* 'Isis speaks truth to those who are true'.

18. *nbt pš nwh nty snh* 'lady of the bundle which is bound': Text 10, R^o 18.

For this enigmatic phrase see note *ad locum*; the underlying idea may be funerary, possibly agricultural, or perhaps a reference to the power of fate. It is equally likely that its meaning has escaped me.²

¹ A full example occurs in the Metternich Stela (v. Sander-Hansen, op. cit. *supra*; a translation in Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (second edn., Düsseldorf-Köln, 1965), 109-15).

² Various sources may be cited to support these guesses, but none is anything like conclusive. Diodorus I, 14 refers to sheaves of corn carried in Isiac processions, ἀπομνημόνευμα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῇ θεῇ φιλοτέχνως εὐρηθέντων. Tertullian, *De Corona*,

7 describes how the goddess wore on her head a crown of the corn which she discovered; in such a guise ancient authors (Herodotus II, 59 and others) identify her with Demeter. Another possibility is that the phrase is funerary, and refers to mummy bandages; the sacred cows, Mothers of the Apis, come to mind here. A third explanation, that of fate, evokes the common metaphor of loosing and binding (e.g. Ikhnofret, 24). A further intriguing possibility emerges on

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(e) *Isis and other gods*

19. *Osiris*

Associated with Isis in invocations: Texts 8, V° 9; R° 11; 18, R°; and probably in Text 10, R° 6-7. In Text 25, 3 the Hawk is said to be the soul (*by*) of Osiris, Horus, and Isis conjointly.

20. *Horus/Harpocrates*

Occurs with his mother in the dreams of Text 9, although the exact relationship is unclear. Associated in evocation of Text 18, R°, while in Text 20, 5 is named specifically as *Hr p hrđ (n) 3st* 'Horus the child of Isis'. See also the end of the previous section.

21. *Nephthys*

Appears only in combination with her sister. In Text 18, V° 17 reference is made to 'the power of Isis with Nephthys the great' (*rw 3st hnc Nbt-ht rjt*). In Text 19, R° she appears in a compendium of gods, in Text 20, 6 she is 'Nephthys the sister of Isis', and in Text 15, R° 7 we are told that 'the two sisters (mentioned in an oracle of some sort) are Isis together with Nephthys'.

22. *Thoth*

In the verso of Text 8 this god appears with Isis and Osiris; in Text 3, R° 13 he is said to be her father. See no. 14 above, and the note *ad locum*. In the dream of Text 1, Thoth 'takes the hand' of the goddess as she gives her prophetic announcement.

23. *'All the gods of Egypt'*

Are associated under the presidency of Isis in the V° of Text 11; a similar phenomenon occurs at the beginning of the *Somnium Nectanebi* (UPZ, 270-1), itself almost certainly a Greek translation or adaptation from a native source.

(f) *Cult-places of Isis*

24. *Alexandria*

In Text 1 Isis appears as guaranteeing the protection of the capital (Text 1, 14 *Rr-kd smn wbt p hf*); here she is clearly Ἰσις πολιούχος.

25. *Temenēsi (Isios polis)*

The full name of this locality is given in Text 2, R° 2-3; V° 1-2 as 'the town of Isis, lady of the cavern, the great goddess, in the nome of Seben-nytos'. The 'cavern' (*tph*, if this is the correct

reading) is an unknown feature of her cult. For the location of Temenēsi see the note to Text 2, R° 2, p. 19 above.

26. *Memphis*

In Text 10, R° 2, 6, 10, 16, 18 occurs the name *Tm*, in three cases qualified by a possessive *try-t*; this is clearly a name of the goddess. If a connection with the Memphite cult-place *Tnnt* (Wb. v. 382; Bergman, 247-50) is admissible, the name would be a Memphite sobriquet of Isis. It is otherwise unknown.

In the same text (10, R° 3-4) Isis is described as 'the great goddess of the *wady* of the lake', a description very appropriate to the site. The geographical terms of this passage are discussed in § 5 of the Commentary above.

Finally, the opening of Text 10 qualifies the goddess as *nbt knhy*. Although the word *knhy* may well be used of a naos, it is also common, especially in the Memphite necropolis, as a designation of the vaults in which animals such as the Apis or his Mother were laid to rest. This explanation is also discussed in § 5 of the Commentary.

(g) *Conclusion*

The wealth of information given by the Hor archive is far from being exhausted by these brief and tentative remarks. In a preliminary publication of this kind it is impossible to investigate matters in the detail which they deserve, and a preliminary observation must suffice; this is simply that it is impossible to read the epithets of Isis contained in our ostraca without realizing how naturally they fall into the traditional imagery and vocabulary of Egyptian religion. It would be absurd to deny that the Hellenistic period saw considerable development and elaboration of the cult of Isis, but equally absurd to ignore the true origin of the images and conceptions which surround the goddess. This is not a surprising conclusion, for it is merely the truth which the Greek aretalogies never cease to proclaim: χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε θρέψασά με.

§ 2: The titles of Thoth

The titles and functions allotted to the god Thoth in our texts do not exhibit quite the variety of the names

birth spell, and it may be that Isis has taken over this function from the obscurer deity. But there is little to distinguish any one of these explanations from the rest.

a reading of Pap. Leiden I, 348 (Borghouts, op. cit. 161), where the bull deity *T-sp-f* is said to be the 'bearer of cords' (*hry nwh*); these are explained by the editor as ropes for land measurement (cf. *ht-mwh*, schoenus). The context is a child-

of Isis, but they achieve some importance in confirming attributes known to us from other sources, and above all in supplying clues to the origins of that important figure, Hermes Trismegistos.

Two items of circumstantial value are given to us in the texts: Text 3, R^o 13 names a 'great festival' (*hb rj*) of Thoth, celebrated at North Saqqâra on the twelfth day of the month which bore his name. This is partially confirmed by Text 8, R^o 1; the event is not known from other sources. The second item is the tradition, already discussed above, that Thoth was the father of Isis.¹ This idea, although by no means incompatible with Egyptian religious thought, nevertheless seems to be unparalleled in native texts. Even the Cyme aretology 3b can muster only the information that the god had been Isis' tutor, καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ; yet the tradition was grasped by the ever-watchful Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 3, 352 A; 12, 355F). In the later Hermetic corpus its future was to be assured; it is therefore welcome to have confirmation of the belief from the mid-second century B.C.

The arrangement of the following titles is arbitrary.

1. *pj ntr rj* 'the great god': Texts 1, 10; 16, R^o 1-2; 17, 2; 22, R^o 2; 23, R^o 7, V^o 8-9, 16; 25, 11; 32, R^o 6.

This epithet of gods in the late period is too common to require much comment. An interesting feature is that in all cases the epithet precedes the name of the god, the order always being *pj ntr rj Dhwtj*. The reasons for this change in the standard order, whether euphonic or religious, are not clear. A similar phrase *pjy-t nb rj Dhwtj* 'my great lord Thoth' occurs in the evocation of Text 8, V^o 1.

2. *pj rj* 'the great': Texts 22, V^o 2*; 47, 6(?).

Doubtless a variant of the preceding or of the following.

3. *rj* 'great': Text 23, R^o 2.

The shortest possible form, squeezed between the name of the god and a cult-title.

4. *rj rj* 'twice great': Text 25, 4(?).

A reduplicated form of the preceding, perhaps used for emphasis; but the context is not one of the clearest.

5. *rj rj nb Hmnnw* 'twice great, lord of Hermopolis': Text 28, 12.

The reduplicated form, followed by the major cult-place of the god.² This version is obviously the first step towards the triplicate forms discussed below; a further step, *rj rj rj nb Hmnnw* 'thrice great, lord of Hermopolis', is found transliterated into Greek letters in an inscription of the late second century B.C. (Girgis in *MDAIK*, 20 (1965), 121). The examples given below are designed to show that the all-important expansion of the title had already taken place by the middle of this second century.

6. *pj rj pj rj nty rjy n ms* 'the twice great, who is the elder born': Text 12, 9 = 12A, 2.

Used in a description of Thoth as the introduction to a prophetic dream. The word for 'great', duplicated, is now preceded by the definite article; the following *nty rjy n ms*, which seems to have been grafted on to the original expression, may refer to a Hermopolite theory of creation in which Thoth acted as demiurge (Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 187 ff.). It may also be a reflection of the belief which made the god the father of Isis, and possibly of other gods besides,³ or it may be that the phrase is used in a less specific way, to portray the god as possessor of hoary wisdom. A Greek version of *Dhwtj pj rj pj rj*, namely μεγίστου καὶ μεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ, is to be found in the Raphia decree of Ptolemy IV (Gauthier and Sottas, *Décret trilingue*, 72, ll. 3-4). An early version of the demotic *rj rj nb Hmnnw* is discussed by Hughes, *JNES* 17 (1958), 8; even Saite versions are known, clearly demonstrating that the expansion of the god's title took place before the Hellenistic period.

7. *pj rj pj rj pj rj* 'the thrice great': Text 2, V^o 15; 19, R^o 5; 26, V^o 10.

The triplicate form with the definite article marks the culmination of the god's development, and there can be little doubt that it is a title of this sort, natural to Egyptian religious vocabulary, which lies behind the Greek equivalent τρισμέγιστος. The early history of this important identification was discussed by Skeat and Turner in their edition of the Greek ostraca from our archive (*JEA* 54 (1968), 208); the conclusion of these editors is that it is to the Hor ostraca

¹ See notes to Text 3, R^o 13, p. 27 above; also Commentary, §§ 3, 5 and Appendix 1, no. 22; Griffith, *ZAS* 38, 87.

² For a discussion of all the place-names in Egypt known

to the Greeks as Hermopolis, see § 1 of the Commentary above.

³ For this notion, see the introduction to this Appendix and the passages quoted.

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(Greek Texts A, B, and D) that we must look for the earliest unequivocal use of the Greek adaptation. The later form τρισμέγιστος is of course not used in these ostraca, for Hor restricts himself to the double superlative followed by a positive (μεγίστου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμοῦ). Now it is surely of significance that when the article of Skeat and Turner was written, the demotic equivalent *pꜣ ꜣꜣ pꜣ ꜣꜣ pꜣ ꜣꜣ* had not yet come to light in the rest of the archive; the present references can therefore serve only to strengthen their conclusions.

It is not the point of least interest in our documents that they should provide the earliest clue to the origins of a most remarkable figure in the history of thought, a philosopher, whose reputation as the sage 'Trismegistus' was transmitted through the Middle Ages and Renaissance to influence even such forerunners of modern thinking as Bruno and Copernicus.

A similar threefold title, *ꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ wr*, is applied to Thoth in the hieroglyphic inscriptions from Dendera (Chassinat, *Dendara*, i. 30); this may well be an adaptation from *pꜣ ꜣꜣ pꜣ ꜣꜣ pꜣ ꜣꜣ*, although the contrast between the first two elements and the final *wr* reminds one slightly of Hor's μεγίστου . . . μεγίστου . . . μεγάλου. A second, and perhaps more likely possibility is that the hieroglyphic phrase is a parallel to *pꜣ ꜣꜣ pꜣ ꜣꜣ nty ꜣꜣꜣ n ms* quoted above, for *wr* in the meaning 'elder' is attested (*Wb.* i. 327). Unfortunately, the answer to such a question lies outside the scope of this volume.

8. *pꜣ wr-dꜣw* 'the great of five': Text 3, R^o 16; 16, R^o 12; 17, 11. (The last two examples are followed directly by the name of the god.)

For the title, also applied at an earlier stage to the high priest of the god cf. *Wb.* v. 420; a Greek transcription πόρτις is known. Further references are to be found in Boylan, *Thoth*, and Bonnet, *Reallexikon*.

9. *pꜣ rꜥ* 'the knowing': Text 3, R^o 16(?).

An obvious reference to the magical and other learning of the god, but the context is faint and obscure.

10. *pꜣ nb rꜥ* 'the knowing lord': Text 17, 22; 18, V^o 11 (in form *pꜣ nb tr-rꜥ*).

¹ The phrase is oddly reminiscent of the praise of Imḥōtep in Texts 16, R^o 7; 17A, 8-10 *nty lw-w ꜣꜣ nꜣ nꜣ nꜣ dr-w*

An extension of the preceding. For the notion, cf. Text 17, 11 ff. (*r pꜣ wr-dꜣw Dḥwtꜣ tr-rꜥ r pꜣ nty tr mdt-nꜣꜣꜣ n pꜣ hb*) and similar sentiments.

11. *ꜣꜣ wpyt* 'great of judgment': Text 32, R^o 1.

Although some doubt concerns the place of Text 32 in our archive, there can be little suspicion of the title, which is paralleled by the obvious role of Thoth as recorder of judgements in the *Book of the Dead* and similar writings. The notion of Thoth as a giver of verdicts pervades the whole archive (see, for example, § 3 of the Commentary for the role of the god in oracles). In Text 31B, 5 there is mention of *tr mdt wpy Dḥwtꜣ* 'the matter of the judgement of Thoth'; in Text 32, R^o 6 we have a matter *wpy-ꜣ pꜣ ntr ꜣꜣ Dḥwtꜣ* 'adjudicated by the great god Thoth', and Text 7 records 'the law of the verdict (*wpyt*) of the ibises of Egypt'.

12. *pꜣ tr dꜣꜣ-mdt* 'the one who records': Text 1, 10-11 (cf. Text 17A, 11-12).

Although properly a description of the god rather than a title, it is included here because it aptly summarizes one of his major functions, that of scribe of the gods. This activity of the deity is equally shown in Text 12, R^o 9-10 (= 12A, 1-2), where the gods who are in the *Sktt*-barque are said to revere him *r-dꜣꜣ pꜣꜣꜣꜣ tr shꜣ nꜣꜣ* 'because of his making a beneficent writing'.¹ In this image there may be an echo of Thoth as vizir, standing in the prow of the sun god's bark (cf. Roeder, *Mythen und Legenden*, 312, Abb. 60).

13. *nb ꜥꜣꜣ* 'lord of lifetime': Text 17, 7-8.

A clear evocation of Thoth as recorder of time, as he appears in numerous temple scenes, sometimes notching tallies upon a palm branch (Roeder, *Die Ägyptische Götterwelt*, 330, Abb. 56).

14. *nb mꜣꜣꜣ* 'lord of truth': Text 18, V^o 11.

This epithet, used only in the dream-invocation of Text 18, is qualified with phrases such as *nty lw mꜣꜣꜣ rnꜣꜣ* 'whose name is true', and repeated references to Thoth as magician. The association of Thoth with Marat (personified as a goddess) is also common.

15. *trꜥ* 'moon': Text 3, R^o 16.

An identification of Thoth with his celestial

r-dꜣꜣꜣ pꜣꜣꜣꜣ tr-sꜣꜣꜣ(?). For the image see Schott, *ZÄS* 99 (1972), 20-5.

counterpart. That this identification is more than a literary allusion is shown by the creation of a composite Late-Period divinity, *Wsr-ḫ-Dḥwtj* or 'Osiris Lunus' (Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewerke*, pl. 3; *JEA* 56 (1970), pl. VIII, 6); the lunar disc worn by ibis and baboon is also well attested.

16. *hb* 'ibis': Text 3, R^o 16.

§ 4 of the Commentary deals with the affairs of this avatar of the god, who in Text 19, R^o 5 is said to be *pj by (n) Dḥwtj*. It is notable that the other emanation of Thoth, the baboon, in spite of being worshipped at Ḥepnēbes, is nowhere mentioned in our texts.

17. *nb rnh* 'lord of life': Text 23, V^o 15.

This epithet is reminiscent of no. 13 above. In Text 3, R^o 16 the god seems also to be addressed as *pj rnh* 'the living one', but the passage is too obscure for any certainty.

18. *pj hry* 'the superior': Text 26, V^o 10.

This stark epithet (which may have celestial connotations) follows *pj r pj r pj r* in the strongest description in our archive of the power of the god. Other references to the might of the thrice-great are to be seen in our texts; Text 16, R^o 2 (= 17, 2) acquaints us with the god 'whose power is known in every matter which concerns the Ibis in his heart', while Text 16, R^o 12 (= 17, 7-8) calls upon the god *irm pjy f nrf* 'together with his might' to crush the writer's enemies.

19. *pj nb n pj hty* 'the lord of the heart': Text 26, V^o 10.

This enigmatic title, which follows the praise of Thoth mentioned in the previous section, is capable of several interpretations. One possibility would be a connection with the psychostasis, in which the heart is weighed against the feather of *mnt*, but this does not seem convincing; a more likely explanation would be a reference to the heart as seat of emotion and intellect, over the latter of which Thoth was particularly thought to be the master. The epithet would then picture him as director and inspiration of rational thought. In conclusion two epithets must be mentioned which link the god with his cult-centres. The topographical questions, and the relations be-

tween the various cults of the Serapeum and the main temple of Ptah in Memphis have already been discussed in § 4 of the Commentary above; the significance of the phrase itself is discussed in the notes to Text 19, R^o 2-3.

20. *pj ntr rn f i-ir-shy n ht-ntr Mn-nfr* 'the god in person who holds sway in the temple of Memphis': Text 19, R^o 2-3.

21. *nb Pr-Dḥwtj* 'lord of the House of Thoth': Text 23, R^o 2.

For the House of Thoth, the sanctuary of the ibis-cult at North Saqqāra, see § 4 of the Commentary.

At the end of this *exposé* of the god Thoth some reference should again be made to the interesting metaphor of 'the path' (*pj myt/tj mlt*). This idea, which appears commonly in the writing of the Memphite Ḥor, has been discussed in the notes to Texts 16 and 17, where it first appears, in Text 23 (R^o 7-8), where the metaphor is extended by the secretary's assertion that he has 'not abandoned his path for ever', and in § 3 of the Commentary.¹ Whatever the stricter meaning of the phrase, it is clear that the Memphite Ḥor (and perhaps also Ḥor of Sebennytyos, on whose behalf the secretary may be writing) felt himself bound in some way to observe the god's injunctions. A close parallel may be seen in the ethical inscriptions of the high priest Petosiris in his tomb at Tûna el-Gebel, in which he too declares his devotion to the ibis-god.² That the god could demand such close observance from his followers is confirmed by two sources, and must be taken into any account of the growth of religion in Egypt.

§ 3: Was Ḥor a *katochos*?

We have seen from the first section of the Commentary that, at some time about the middle of the 160s, Ḥor of Sebennytyos seems to have taken up permanent residence in Memphis; indeed from his familiarity with the affairs of the ibis-shrine and the other cults of North Saqqāra, it seems natural to assume that it was in the Serapeum that he made his new home. Much more difficult to determine is the status which he acquired in his adopted setting. He refers to himself, on the few occasions in which he describes himself fully, as a citizen of the Sebennytyic nome, whether of Temenēsi or of Pi(?)Thoth; only occasionally does he add the

¹ Detailed references will be found in the index.

² Cf. Suys, *Vie de Petosiris* (Brussels, 1927), 129; Lefebvre,

Petosiris, ii. 36, Inscr. 61, 28, and E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, 177-8.

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information 'who is in Memphis'.¹ His former position, that of pastophoros of Isis, is not mentioned in the demotic texts and would be unknown to us were it not for the Greek ostraca. The one title which he retains is that of scribe (*p/ sh*), and texts such as the ibis-memoranda (Texts 19-23) make it likely that he acted in some way as a recorder at meetings of the temple council. Nevertheless he seems to have been a man of some influence, judging from his behaviour in Text 22, and it is likely that he possessed a considerable reputation as a soothsayer. At various points in our notes and commentaries the idea has raised itself that Ḥor of Sebennyptos, like his notable contemporary (even acquaintance?) Ptolemaios, was one of those known to the Greek texts of the Serapeum as *κἀτοχοι*, 'people under a restraint'.

The literature on this topic is long and difficult.² It had begun already in 1830 with Reuvens' third *Lettre à M. Letronne*, and its history was to prove eventful even before it came under the pen of Sethe (*Sarapis*, 94 ff.; cf. *ZAS* 53 (1917), 42). The conclusion of the latter was that the persons described in Greek as 'detained within the temple' (*λεποῦ ἐγκἀτοχοι* or a similar phrase) correspond to those who appear in Pap. Lille 29, a set of rules for the formation of a priestly guild, as *ddh n trpy (r-pr)* 'confined to (the) shrine', and furthermore that these 'detainees' were restricted to the temple for legal and administrative reasons, as in a form of asylum. This view was followed by Sottas in his publication of the Lille papyri, and by others.³ The arguments of Sethe and his predecessors were subjected to magnificent scrutiny by Wilcken (*UPZ* i. 52-72), and his conclusion is well known: that the restraint was self-imposed, and was caused by an omen of the god in which he laid a claim to the man's services. Since Wilcken's study some scholars have adhered to the 'secular' view of Sethe (so Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens*, 240 ff.; 'dont l'interprétation semble à peu près sûre', according to F. de Cenival, *Les Associations religieuses*, i. 33; the latter quotes Pap. Lille 29, 15, which seems only marginally relevant. The passage in question refers to members of a cult-guild who chance to be thrown into prison unjustly; whatever the merits of the 'secular theory', and they are considerable, it is not helped by such a quotation. A temple prison seems to be described in our present archive,⁴ and the

¹ Text 25, 1 is the only clear example; 23, R° 1 is doubtful, and 48, 1 incomplete.

² See the summary and discussion by Wilcken, *UPZ* i. 53-4.

existence of such institutions is confirmed elsewhere, but nowhere in a context which suggests anything to do with the *κἀτοχή*. It is difficult to imagine that Ptolemaios was languishing in the Serapeum gaol; harder still to imagine his volatile brother, who himself became a *katochos* for a short period in the middle of 158, omitting to raise an outcry if he had been incarcerated).

Other scholars, notably Delekat and Erichsen,⁵ have chosen to follow the 'religious' theory of Wilcken. It is not easy to decide between two such divergent opinions as those of Wilcken and Sethe, the more so as a suspicion must linger that the matter has sometimes been decided by the personality and inclinations of the writer. The two theories are of course not irreconcilable; it is quite possible that a man escaping from litigation or the police may have been susceptible to divine premonitions, particularly if they seemed to offer him safety, and it is of course known that Ptolemaios, whatever the nature of his *κἀτοχή*, had experienced difficulties in his early life. The same seems to be true of Ḥor of Sebennyptos, who had become involved in a dispute of some kind while at Temenēsi. Nevertheless if this compromise solution is admitted, we must still decide upon the criterion of a *katochos*: was a man accepted into the Serapeum merely because of past troubles, or would his claim need to be based on proof of divine will? Here the present writer must confess his inclination towards the Wilcken interpretation, together with his belief that the dream of Text 8 provides confirmation of this view; but he must also confess his inability to prove his suspicions.

If the 'secular' theory of the *κἀτοχή* is followed, then there can be little or no evidence, apart from our knowledge of a dispute in Temenēsi, to call Ḥor a *κἀτοχος*. The 'religious' theory, however, provides more interesting lines of thought:

(a) Text 8, R° 1-12 records a dream, almost certainly experienced by Ḥor, in which the foreman of a labour-gang who has befriended him reveals himself to be the god Thoth, and commands him not to worship any other deity; Ḥor agrees to this, and his fate is revealed to him. The god then pledges maintenance for him in life and in death.

Qualification: the text of this ostrakon is not clear, and the subject-matter is obscure in the extreme.

³ *Les papyrus démotiques de Lille* (Paris, 1921), 57 ff.

⁴ Text 19, R° 22-3.

⁵ Delekat, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung*, *Münch. Beitr.* 47 (1964); Erichsen, *Kultgenossenschaft*, 53 ff.

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(b) Text 11, V^o 10, in the midst of a dream account, describes a dealing of Ḥor *r-dḥ* *ḥpr ḥrm pḥ ntr* 'concerning dwelling with the god'.

Qualification: Text 11 is even more obscure than Text 8, and the phrase 'dwelling with the god' is susceptible to other interpretations and need not carry the idea of a κατοχή.

(c) Text 14, V^o 11 may read *ḥpr pḥ wḏ ḥrm pḥ ntr(?)* 'salvation has occurred together with the god(?)'.

Qualification: Text 14 is the most obscure of the entire archive.

It must be admitted that this evidence, even seen in combination, is weak. The most that can fairly be obtained from (a) is that Ḥor in some way felt a strong attachment to the god, and that this manifested itself, as well it might, in his dreams. There is no proof that Ḥor was a *katochos*, or that he became one as a result of the dream in Text 8, or even that he acted upon this dream at all. To this negative conclusion we must add the argument from silence; Ḥor never refers to himself as a *katochos*, is never referred to as such by others, and

his name is not included in the list of *katochoi* given in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*.¹ We must also count the testimony of Text 1, 1-2 that at least in the early 150s Ḥor seems to have been free to travel between Memphis and Heliopolis, a situation which is difficult to reconcile with his supposed status of κατοχή.² The last resort would then be to claim that Ḥor must have been a *katochos* only for a short period in the late 160s; but there is nothing else to support this explanation.

In spite of this poor conclusion, a kernel of interest remains. The 'religious' theory of Wilcken has much to recommend it, and the notion that it was as a result of inspired dreams that men took up confined residence in the Memphite Serapeum is eminently in keeping with what we know of Egyptian religion. Now it is difficult to resist the belief that it is precisely the sort of experience described in the beginning of Text 8 that Wilcken had in mind. The coincidence is striking; but it is here that we must leave it. Proof may one day appear for this most intriguing of possibilities.³

§ 4: Timechart

NOTE: This chart is intended only as a summary of the first two sections of the Commentary, and as a simple guide to the history of Philometor's reign. All arguments are omitted.

c. 200(?)	Birth of Ḥor at Pi(?) - Thoth in the nome of Sebennytyos. Much of early life spent at nearby Temenēsi (Isios polis), as pastophoros of Isis.
184 (or, less likely, 186)	19 October: birth of Ptolemy, later Ptolemy VI Philometor.
180	after 20 May: accession of Philometor (Skeat, <i>Reigns</i> 32-3).

¹ PP. nos. 7324-35.

² See the evidence collected in UPZ i. 62 ff. on the inability of a *katochos* to leave the shrine to which he was attached.

³ I have deliberately omitted two minor questions from this discussion: the first is whether the metaphor of 'the path' discussed above can be connected in any way with the institution of κατοχή. For this there is no proof whatsoever. The second is the nature of the Memphite Ḥor's journey to *Pr-pṣy-f-ḥry* recounted in Texts 12 and 25. Here the

Memphite secretary seems to be relating his own experiences. The account is therefore not relevant to our question; in the less likely event of the journey's belonging to Ḥor of Sebennytyos, it will prove only that from c. 173 to 168 the latter had been in the Delta on the god's business, and will tell us nothing about his later activities. It is of course true that in Text 25 the writer clearly feels a need to justify his journey by quoting from an oracle. This would have been necessary had he been a *katochos*, it is true, but it is not evidence that he was one.

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176	8 April: Philometor's mother, Cleopatra I, still alive (BM 10518). 17 May: Cleopatra I apparently dead (Pestman, 46).
175	Spring: Philometor's marriage to Cleopatra II. Reorganization of earlier cult titles. (Antiochus IV Epiphanes succeeds in Syria.)
174	October: the reforms of Text 21(?)
173/2	Roman embassy to Alexandria (Livy, 42, 6). Hor the secretary's journey to <i>Pr-py-f-try</i> begins (Text 12). Thirty-two years of abuse in the ibis-cult at Saqqâra come to an end (Text 19).
172	31 January: Hor the secretary(?) communicates the oracle justifying his journey to the priests of the ibis-cult (Text 25). 31 May: session of council under 'Aḥmosi (Text 19). 1 June: servants of Ibis arraigned before council (Text 19). Rules for reform drawn up, to take effect from new year on 5 October. c. October: Ptolemy becomes κάρτοχος in Serapeum (UPZ 15).
171	10 July: Hor invokes dream (Text 18).
170	Between 5 October and 12 November: joint reign proclaimed (Skeat, <i>JEA</i> 47 (1961), 108). Second half of November: Egyptian defeat by Antiochus; disgrace of Eulaeus and Lenaeus. Joint reign abrogated; capture of Philometor. 12 December: Hor the secretary consults Pshennesōw on the future of Pḥentamūn (Text 12).
169	18 May: Hor writes encomium to Isis (Text 10); about this time he visits Buto and Pi(?) - Thoth. End: Antiochus retires from Egypt. Garrison left in Pelusium.
168	Beginning: reinstitution of joint reign (Bevan, 285-6); possible date of encouraging verso of Text 12(?) Early Spring: Antiochus reinvades. Cyprus seized. 1-11 July: <i>Gry(n)</i> , still in Memphis as governor for Antiochus, who has declared himself Pharaoh (Texts 2, 3). 11 July: Hor reports his dream to <i>Hrynys</i> (Texts 2, 3). Late July: embassy of G. Popillius Laenas and Roman ultimatum. (Polybius, 29, 27). 30 July: Antiochus sails from Pelusium (Texts 2, 3); Cyprus then evacuated. 29 August: Hor reports to Pharaohs in Alexandrian Serapeum; he reads out 'the salvation of Alexandria' (Texts 2, 3). <i>Imnys</i> and <i>Irkhrt</i> write their account of the Seleucid retreat.

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	Pharaoh goes to Memphis. <i>Nwmmys</i> goes to Rome to give thanks. <i>Tynys</i> goes to reclaim Pelusium. (Text 3, verso). Events recorded by <i>Hrynys</i> (Text 4) now begin. Egypt still in difficulties (UPZ 59, 60).
167	18 September: new regulations enforced in ibis-cult (Text 23).
167/6	Hor's dream to settle in Memphis forever (Text 9). Possible date of Text 8(?)
165	16 April: oracle of Thoth interpreted by magician of Imhōtep (Texts 16, 17). 13 June(?): this interpretation reported to authorities (Text 22). More reforms introduced.
164	6 April: death of Apis (UPZ 21, 23). 15 June: burial of Apis (UPZ 54). October: both kings in Memphis(?) (UPZ 42). Unrest in land (UPZ 14). End October: Philometor leaves for Rome and Cyprus (Bevan, 291).
164/3	Petitions of Ptolemy the κάτοχος.
168-3 (exact dates unknown)	Revolts of Dionysios Petosorapis (Diodorus 31, 15); ἀμεικτοὶ καίροι attested c. 165 (UPZ 19); ἄλλη κίνησις in Thebaid and Greek Texts of Hor archive (cf. JEA 54 (1968), 207). Remedy proposed for Queen, perhaps after December 165(?) (Text 28).
163	May: return of Philometor. End of joint reign. July/August: Ptolemy 'the Brother' assigned to Cyrenaica. 17 August: amnesty (φιλόανθρωπα) of Philometor (UPZ, 111). Cleopatra II embodied in official protocols. October: Philometor visits Serapeum, to thank god for his safe homecoming. Possible date of his donations to ibis-shrine(?) (Text 3, recto).
162	Ptolemy 'the Brother' in Rome. Revolt of Ptolemy Symptētēs (Polybius 31, 10).
161	(from 163): petitions of Ptolemy the κάτοχος on behalf of the Twins.
160	January: Hor goes to Heliopolis, having left Memphis to seek instruction (Text 1). 31 May: he is also in Heliopolis, and consults the priest of Imhōtep (Text 1).
159	December: Hor reports his findings to [Sw?]tryn in Memphis (Text 1).

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158	Summer: public acknowledgement of Eupator as heir to throne and appointment to eponymous priesthood of Alexander (Pestman, 52). Apollonios also briefly κάρτοχος in Serapeum; his quarrel with the sons of Djehebēs (Reich, <i>Mizraim</i> , i (1933), 147 ff.). October: Philometor again visits Serapeum on his way to Upper Egypt. Possible date of Text 3.
157	19 October: the three resolutions of Text 33 recorded.
156	
155	8-10 March: Ḥor petitions the Ibis, culminating in the dream of Text 13. March: Imḥōtep dreams of Add. Text 59. (Archias, governor of Cyprus, convicted of intrigue with Seleucids (Polybius 33, 3).)
154	Unsuccessful attempt of Ptolemy 'the Brother' to seize Cyprus (Bevan, 300-1).
153/2	Between 15 June 153 (Louvre 2416, 2417) and 28 March 152 (Rylands 16): elevation of Eupator to throne (Pestman, 50-2).
152	20 September: last known reference to Ptolemy the κάρτοχος (UPZ 71).
152/1	Writing of Text 29, which quotes a document of the joint reign.
151/0	Before 31 January 150: death of Eupator.
147	May/September: date of Text 34 and <i>terminus ad quem</i> for petition of Ḥor.
145	c. July: death of Philometor in Syria (Skeat, <i>Reigns</i> , 34-5). Ptolemy 'the Brother' murders Neos Philopator the rightful heir and succeeds (c. September) as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

ADDENDUM

THE following additional ostraca were identified and copied during clearance work at Saqqâra in the winter of 1973-4. The first three texts and 65 certainly belong to the Archive of Hor, 62-64 possibly so. References to these new texts have been incorporated into the index.

Additional Text 59

Height	14.9 cm.
Width	11.8 cm.
Thickness	0.6 cm.
Munsell	2.5 YR 5/4
Photograph	Plate XXXVIII
Facsimile	Plate XXXVIII A
Excavator's no.	H5-(779+787) [2526+2534]

A sizeable ostrakon of light reddish ware, joined from five pieces. The bottom sixth piece is lost. The recto bears at least twenty-three lines in a hand which may be that of the Sebennyte Hor. The writing is very tightly packed, and is badly faded. The verso bears traces, but these have been erased in antiquity. The fragments were discovered by Emery on 25 November 1968, on the main temple terrace (the point marked Z in the map at the end of Commentary, § 5).

Text

1. (traces)^a [tw-i]^b wih hn
2. ht-ntr t; thny nb rnh[-trwy]^c
3. dd-w n-i rswt tw-i šms hft
4. hst-sp 26 ibd-2 prt grh n; []w^d hpr f
5. tw-w dd wr wcb tw (r-)hn n; nty-wcb^e
6. hw wcbw dd-w 'Iy-m-htp s; Pth p; []^f
(ntr)

7. ir-k dit n-im-f [hr]-dd-n^g sh. t; mh-2t:
tw-w dd
8. tw-f (n) wrt sntyw wr sk r; hpr wn ntr 2 irm[f]
9. hms-f dd-f n-i dd p; y-k rk []^h
hrtⁱ
10. hr [] kyt [] r k [] Dhwtw
wpy
11. bn-tw tš mn []^k n gy (n) p; t; bn-tw-w
rk
12. bw-ir rmt [[nb]] sdm m-s; p; y-k rmt r; p; nty
tw-w [[sdm]]
13. dd-s tw-f hpr p; ntr r; []^l my in-f^m hn
14. sty t; [hc(t)] mn sp-sn mtw-w dth []ⁿ
15. p; gy (n) ir n; y my hn-s Dhwtw [[bn-tw]]
16. wn mdt nbt (n) rwy-drt-f^o bn-tw hsk mdt
17. (n) dit mn-s stp dmi (n) Kmy wn
18. P; -ih-Dhwtw^p 'Imn-Rc^q nb Sm; -Bhdt n-im-f
(traces)^r
19. n-im-f dd-i n-f in-n; bn-tw g; dmi [m-s]^s
20. Pr-Dhwtw 3st htp n-im[f]
21. hsty-i m-šs r-db; []
22. t; ntrt r; t nbt m[rt^u]
23. [dd n; y

Notes

- a. There is no sign of any of the conventional openings to our texts; perhaps the beginning is lost.
- b. Restored from the general sense, and difficult to reconcile with the traces.
- c. Restored from Text 18, V^o 3.
- d. The traces are almost entirely lost, although the plural determinative seems clear. The whole clearly refers to a festival or suchlike in the cult of Imhōtep at Saqqâra; this makes the loss of the word more regrettable.
- e. Cf. the notes to Text 12, R^o 7, p. 52 above.
- f. The traces may suit sh. The following word seems to have stood well below the level of the line, perhaps as an insertion.
- g. Extremely faint.

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h. The traces suggest *tꜣ mdt Dhwtꜣ*, but other readings (*nꜣ hbwꜣ*?) are possible.

i. The following line is a space-filler.

j. The whole of this line is too obscure to allow more than the occasional guess at the meaning.

k. *n-lm-w* may have stood here.

l. *mr-s* is possible.

m. The syntax of this group is not clear, especially in view of the *mtw-w* in the following line. The translation is approximate.

n. The object pronoun which doubtless stood here is lost.

o. Cf. the similar sentiment in Text 17, 20-1.

p. The place-name determinative is clear.

q. Not *Wstr-Hp*, which it resembles.

r. For the absence of place-determinative in this name cf. the writings in Text 16, R^o 6; 17, 13.

s. Possibly *ntr*. The remaining space is limited; perhaps *ntr nb*(?)

t. Restored entirely from the sense.

u. Restored from Text 10, R^o 8; the group in Text 2, R^o 2 is less likely.

Translation

1. (traces) [I was] situated in
2. the temple of the Peak (of the) Lord of
‘Ankh[-tawy].^a
3. I was told a dream while I was serving (in
the) dromos
4. (in) Year 26, Mekhir,^b the night of the
[.....]. It happened (that)
5. I dreamt (that) a priest came into the
sanctuaries.^c
6. Priests offered incense. They said ‘Imḥōtep
son of Ptah, the (divine) [scribe],
7. thou shalt place him at our head(?)’ It is
written. The second (dream): I dreamt (that)
8. he^d was (in) a panic. A great destruction
(had) occurred. There were two gods with
[him].
9. He sat down. He said to me, saying ‘Your
bread [the business of Thoth(?)] food
10. (is) upon [(the) high land(?)] bread
[.....] Thoth judges:
11. no province shall remain [among them] in
any way (on) earth. They shall not stand.

12. No man hears except your great man, the
one whom they

13. name. If it happens (that) the great god
[wishes it], bring him(?) within

14. (the) flame (of) the furnace(?), lasting,
lasting, and may they imprison [him(?)].

15. The act (of) doing this, may Thoth com-
mand it,

16. (for) every matter is within his power.^e You
shall not be slack (in any) matter

17. (of) effecting it. Choose a town (of) Egypt.

18. Piaḥthoth and Amen-Rē^r lord of Sambeh-
det^r are in it and [every god(?)]

19. is in it.’ I said to him, ‘Will it be another
town [but]

20. Pi(?) - Thoth? Isis rests in [it]

21. my heart exceedingly concerning [

22. the great goddess, lady of [love^f

23. [saying this].

Notes

a. For this description of the site of the temple of Imḥōtep (the Asklepieion) see Commentary § 5 above.

b. The date corresponds to March 155. For a festival of Imḥōtep in the Memphite necropolis on 11 Mekhir, cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 981. The date would then be 10 March, 155.

c. Doubtless of the Asklepieion.

d. It is unprecedented in our texts for a dream, described as ‘the second’, to follow directly from the first, but no other explanation seems possible. Usually a change of characters or of locale is implied by the new numbering; see § 3 of the Commentary above.

e. For the sentiment see Appendix 2.

f. For Amen-Rē^r as lord of this city, cf. Montet, *Géographie*, i. 115.

g. See Appendix 1.

Remarks

This text records two connected dreams experienced by Ḥor in March 155. In the first dream the priests of the sanctuary of Imḥōtep beg the god to elect a certain priest to lead them. In the second a being, possibly Imḥōtep, is seized with fear: a cataclysm of some sort has occurred, and Ḥor is asked to choose a town

of Egypt. The reason for this is not clear, but it may be that the chosen town would be singled out for survival. Hor, not surprisingly, names his home city, Pi(?) - Thoth. The leader of the first dream is mentioned again: he is apparently to be subjected to an ordeal by fire, if the god Thoth so desires.

In spite of the rather late date, the new text falls clearly into the pattern of dream-texts 8-11 above: the same anxiety is present, indeed it reaches a new peak in the apparent destruction of Egypt, and Hor's *idée fixe* about bread rations, which was perhaps derived from his experiences in Text 26, recurs in the badly damaged ll. 9 and 10. Familiar too is the figure of authority who makes demands of the dreamer (Texts 8, 9, 11), although the reply is now more confident.

Particularly interesting is the information given about the town of Pi(?) - Thoth. It is difficult to know how far to trust a dream-text, but there seems little reason why Hor should wish to deceive in such a matter. A place-name Pīaḥthoth, 'the field of Thoth', is associated with the town, and a cult of Amen-Rē, lord of Sambeḥdet, is also located there. If our theory that Pi(?) - Thoth lay in the northern Delta, near Buto, is correct, then the presence of a god of Sambeḥdet, the most northerly town of Egypt, would be easily explained.

More intriguing is Hor's reply: he makes no reference to these cults, but lays emphasis on the fact that Isis rests in the town (l. 20). We know that in his early years Hor had been a pastophoros of this goddess in Temenēsi, a town which it is difficult to place far from Pi(?) - Thoth. The new information makes one wonder whether Temenēsi and Pi(?) - Thoth are not essentially the same. A similar association of cult places, those of Thoth and Horus, seems to have occurred at nearby Damanhūr, and the conurbation of Pe and Dep at Buto is of course well known. The fact that Hor calls himself a

citizen sometimes of Temenēsi, at other times of Pi(?) - Thoth, would then be explained; but this theory remains unproven.

The dreamer of this text is, of course, never named, but the hand, the general subject-matter, and above all the reference to Pi(?) - Thoth allow us to ascribe the ostrakon to the main archive.

Additional Text 60

Height	8.5 cm.
Width	8.1 cm.
Thickness	0.8 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 6/3
Photograph	Plate XXXVIII
Facsimile	Plate XXXVIII A
Excavator's no.	H5-780 [2527]

Fragment of fine brownish ware with red slip, joined from two pieces. The recto bears nine lines in the same hand as that of Text 7. Much of the upper portion of the text is missing. The verso is blank. The sherd was found by Emery on 24 November 1968 in the same area as Add. Text 59.

Text

- x+1. *l-ir Tbny*
 2. *smn p; mšc*
 3. *hr w[d; p; ḥc] Pr-c;*
 4. *mtw.w dīt [n; y.f s; bw]^a hr*
 5. *rdwy.f Dḥwtj p; c; p; c; p; c;*
 6. *p; hry p; [nb n p; h;] ty^b dīt-s*
 7. *ḥsty[f wd;] t; y.w n; y-t^c*
 8. *Pt(r)wmys^d nty hn*
 9. *t; hnt^e sdm hrw-t^f hr n; y.*

Notes

- a. The determinative of *s; bw* is visible. The restorations are made from Text 7, 8-9. *n; f* may also have stood here, as in Text 7, but there is barely room for it.
 b. Epithets restored from Text 26, V^o 10.
 c. Possibly for the pronoun *n; y; t*?
 d. The absence of *r* is disturbing, and the name is very indistinct. Perhaps *stw[]* would be a better reading.

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e. Possibly a noun formation from *hn* (gine), but other readings are possible, notably *snt* 'guild'. The final sign is uncertain: it is hardly *mh-r*.

f. Altered from *hrw-f*.

Translation

- x+1. Daphnae^a
2. secures the army^b
3. (for) ever [safeguarded is the lifetime (of)] Pharaoh
4. and [his enemies] are placed beneath
5. his feet. Thoth the thrice great,
6. the master, the [lord of the hea]rt gives it^c
7. his heart [being prosperous(?) ...]. They have taken my [possessions(?)].
8. Ptolemy(?)^d who is within
9. the fleet(?) hear my voice in this.

Notes

- a. For reading and translation see notes to Text 7, 6.
- b. See notes to the translation of Text 2, V° 12. The group *p: mšr* 'the army' is perhaps to be restored at the beginning of Text 7, 8 above.
- c. Hardly a reference to the enemies, but otherwise obscure.
- d. This word in particular, and the last three lines in general, very uncertain; see notes to the text.

Remarks

The first part of this text bears a close resemblance to Text 7; indeed it probably marks a stage in its drafting. The second part is more obscure, but seems to contain a plea to a person in authority to right the author's wrongs. It is unfortunate that the concluding lines are too uncertain to allow a more precise dating of Text 7 and the revolt of *Tmḫn*; the reference to 'the fleet(?)' is too vague to be of help.

Additional Text 61

Height	11.5 cm.
Width	8.6 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	10 YR 7/3

Photograph
Facsimile
Excavator's no.

Plate XXXVIII
Plate XXXVIII A
H5-999 [2751]

An ostrakon of fine pinkish-buff ware. The recto bears some seventeen lines in a hand close to, if not the same as, that of Text 33. The verso is heavily incrustated and blank. Fading and stains have not made the recto easier to decipher. The text was found by Emery in December 1968 in the same area as Add. Texts 59 and 60.

Text

1. *wn n: gm[crw irm n: tm-hp]*^a
2. *nty tw-w ir [n-im]w (n) t: chyt r-db:*
3. *t: šnt (n) [t: chyt]*^b
4. *r-db: [p: tr] wn-n: w*
5. *p: [hr [f] st t: y t:*
hrt (n)
6. *n: []^c mdt nbt st [] t: krt*
7. *[dlt] htp [n: rmtw] dryw*
i-ir
8. *ir t: šnt []^d ir-s htr^e*
9. *r-hr-i (n) smy n-k Pr-c: dd*
10. *my []-s^f t: šnt r t: chyt*
11. *p: [] ht p: snt wn-n: w smn*
12. *i-ir-hr n: y-k ityw [r-hn] hst-sp 19^g*
13. *[]^h dd [t:] hrt (n) n: []^c*
irm t: krt
14. *[] rn-k [] tw-i tbh n-im-s*
15. *hn-s [n: shw gmcrw]*
16. *[Dhwti] p: c: p: c: p: c:*
17. *tw-f dlt []*

Notes

- a. Restored from Text 26, R° 19-20.
- b. The final traces suggest *tw* 'office', but they are far from clear.
- c. Restore *hbw*?
- d. The initial traces of this difficult group suit *Dhwti*, but the whole is obscure.
- e. Restored from Text 26, R° 18-19.
- f. Restore *hn-s*, etc., *ad sensum*.
- g. So rather than 39, but the latter is not entirely

excluded. I am grateful to Dr. W. J. Tait for examining this passage and confirming this observation.

h. Apparently not *n* *Pr-rw*, as against Text 19, R^o 15. There is just room for **p* *lt* (*n*) *Pr-r*, but this is scarcely possible: see below.

Translation

1. Account of the cal[amities and illegalities]^a
2. which are being performed (in) the chapel concerning
3. the investigation^b (of) [the chapel]
4. concerning [. the time] when
5. the [.] beneath [. it(?)].
They steal the food (of)
6. the [ibises] (in) every respect. They [.]
the burial
7. [causing to] rest [.] the mighty
[men] who
8. perform the investigation [.]. It has
placed the compulsion^c
9. upon me (of) appealing to you, Pharaoh,
saying
10. 'Pray [restore] the investigation to the chapel
11. the [.] namely, the custom which
was established
12. before your fathers [until] year 19^c
13. [.] for the food (of) the [ibises] and
the burial
14. [.] your name [.]. I beg it.
15. Order [the writings]
calamities]
16. [. Thoth] the thrice great
17. who gives [.]'.

Notes

a. Note the parallels with the recto of Text 26 mentioned in the textual notes above.

b. For this investigation see Texts 19–24 and the Commentary, § 4.

c. The king is not certain; it cannot be Philopator, who died at the beginning of his eighteenth regnal year (Skeat, *Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 32), while a date under Epiphanes (187/6) would make nonsense of the implication in Text 19, R^o 13–15 that the affairs of the ibis-cult were languishing throughout the latter's reign.

We are left with Philometor himself (whose nineteenth year fell in 163/2), and the purpose of Hor's remark remains doubtful; see the remarks which follow.

Remarks

The general drift of this text is clearer than its details. Abuses and maladministration are rampant in the [ibis]-cult, as usual with regard to the feeding and the burial of the birds, and also in connection with the investigation (*šnt*) of the shrine. The writer feels obliged to appeal to Pharaoh to restore the former efficiency of the cult. The similarity of this appeal to the other ibis-texts (19–24 above) is great enough to enable us to ascribe it to the main archive, in spite of its anonymity.

The date 'Year 19' mentioned in the text remains a problem; if the arguments for a dating to Philometor are correct, it would seem that Hor is angry at a temporary recrudescence of the old disorder which took place in 163/2, but unfortunately the context itself is not clear. There are obvious parallels with the idiom of Text 26 above. While the two texts seem to refer to different periods in the life of Hor, it is always possible that they were drafted at the same time.

Additional Text 62

Height	5.2 cm.
Width	4.5 cm.
Thickness	0.9 cm.
Munsell	5 YR 5/4
Photograph	Plate XXXIX
Facsimile	Plate XXXIXA
Excavator's no.	H6-393 [2469]

A small fragment of reddish-brown ware. The recto bears parts of six lines, the verso is blank. Found by Emery in the same area as Add. Texts 59–61 above.

Text

- x+1.] *Ptrum*[
2. *s]mt Dhwty p* *r* [

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3.] *n-drt wpy* [
4.] *gs^a p:* [
5. *Mn-]**nfr m-b:h* [
6.] (trace)^b [.

Notes

- a. Foreign determinative.
- b. Suits *gd(?)*.

Translation

- x+1.] Ptolem[y
2.] likewise Thoth the great [
3.] when [] gave judgment [
4.] *gs^a* the [
5. Mem]phis before [
6.] (trace) [.

Note

- a. A foreign name, perhaps Greek.

Remarks

Little idea of the contents of this text is possible; some sort of historical narrative seems intended.

Additional Text 63

Height	8.1 cm.
Width	6.5 cm.
Thickness	0.75 cm. (ave.)
Munsell	5 YR 5/2
Photograph	Plate XXXIX
Facsimile	Plate XXXIXA
Excavator's no.	H6-317 i [2165]

A small fragment of brownish ware. The recto bears four lines in a very neat hand, with an insertion and traces of a fifth. The verso is dark and uninscribed. The sherd was found by Emery in March 1968 in the same area as Add. Texts 1-4 above.

Text

1.] *tw p: mw bn-tw rmt*
2.] *hb [[p:]]^a hpr krst nfr(t) (t: y p: hrw)*
3.] *hn Pr-Wstr^b*

4.] *n: tšw (n) p: t: mh*
5.] (trace).

Notes

- a. Possibly altered to a space-filler.
- b. The clear determinative rules out *Pr-Wstr-Hp*.

Translation

1.] come the water^a no man shall
2.] ibis. Good burial (shall) occur (from this day)
3.] stretching to^b Pi-Osiri^c
4.] the nomes of the north land
5.] (trace).

Notes

- a. Perhaps in the sense of 'inundation', and used temporally; cf. also Text 33, 13.
- b. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 276.
- c. Possibly the village (modern Abusir) discussed in the Commentary § 5 above.

Remarks

This fragment seems to be part of a prediction that the burial of the ibises shall henceforth be in good order. The name of the toponym Pi-Osiri is of interest.

Additional Text 64

Height	6.1 cm.
Width	13.3 cm.
Thickness	0.75 cm.
Munsell	(Slip) 2.5 Y 7/4 (Ware) 2.5 YR 5/6
Photograph	Plate XXXIX
Facsimile	Plate XXXIXA
Excavator's no.	71/2-(211+212) [5479+5480]

A fragment of fine red ware with a buff slip, joined from two pieces. The recto bears traces of some six lines on the right-hand piece, but the left hand is entirely faded. The verso, which was written upside down in comparison with the recto, bears traces of seven lines (one being an insertion) on the left hand; signs of erasures and

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palimpsest are clear. On this side it is the right-hand piece which has faded. The text which follows is far from certain. The sherds were found by Martin in February 1972 in the South Ibis courtyard, the findspot of the main archive, and the area which is marked X on the map at the end of § 5 of the Commentary above.

Text: recto

1. *lw·w dlt mnt hr* [^a]
2. [] *n-lm·w lw·w dd* []
3. [] *hpr* []
4. [] *mdt hr* []
5. (traces)
6. (traces)

Text: verso

1.] *dl·w m[nt*
2.] *mn ck* .. [
3.] *(r dlt lw·s ...)* [
4.] .. *ms^b nty hn smn*
5.] (traces) ÷ *s*
6.] ... *st hnk m-bsh 3st*
7.] ... *p¹ hm-ntr Hp.*

Notes

- a. Restore *p¹ hb p¹ blk* etc.
- b. *chy* may have preceded *ms*, but the traces are not conclusive.

Translation: recto

1. They shall impart regularity into [the Ibis (etc.)]
2. [.....] them, they saying [.....]
3. [.....] happen [.....]
4. [.....] matter concerning [.....]
5. (traces)
6. (traces)

Translation: verso

1.] they have imparted re[gularity

2.] bread^a remains ... [
3.] <to cause it to be ...> [
4.] birth which is in establishment^b [
5.] it
6.] they offer before Isis
7.] the prophet of Apis.

Notes

- a. Doubtless in the sense of 'rations, income'.
- b. Perhaps 'the chapel of birth which is under construction' (?), cf. Text 33 above.

Remarks

This sadly damaged text may record the construction and dedication of a chapel attached to the ibis-cult at Saqqâra, but the details are lost.

Additional Text 65

Height	8.3 cm.
Width	6.4 cm.
Thickness	0.65 cm.
Munsell	7.5 YR 6/4
Photograph	Plate XXXIX
Facsimile	Plate XXXIXA
Excavator's no.	72/3-16 [6002]

A small ostrakon of fine brownish ware. The recto contains seven lines in the squat hand of Hor of Sebennytyos; the verso contains a further seven lines in the same hand, written upside down in comparison with the recto. The bottom left-hand corner of the recto and most of the upper left half of the verso have suffered from fading. Otherwise the text seems to be complete.

The sherd was found by Martin at a spot slightly to the north of the findspot of Texts 6, 10, and 21, a place where it may have been discarded by looters.

Text: recto

1. *lm(t) n-i try-i* [^a
2. *hr dd·s n-i snt[(n)*
3. *ir ht t¹ mdt (i)sh·s^b (n) n¹ rmtw*
4. *r-db¹ Wstr^c hn .* [

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5. *nꜥ twtw (n) Wstr (t-)gm-t*
6. *ir-t tym (n) pꜥ nty ꜥkꜥ*
7. *ir-t hrh pꜥ nty [*

Text: verso

1. (traces)
2. (traces)^a
3. *wn . [*
4. *bn-tw-w . . [*
5. *tw-t lrm-k [*
6. *ms . . [*
7. *-s tn-twꜥ [.*

Notes

- a. *sc. Tmꜥ (?)* cf. Text 10, R^o 2, 6, 10, 16, 18. The confusion of *tm* and *imt* is unparalleled in our texts.
- b. *t-dd-s* possible, but unlikely.
- c. The scribe first wrote a divine sign; possibly *ht-ntr*?
- d. Almost certainly not *ꜥd*. For *tym*, cf. notes to Text 3, R^o 17.
- e. May suit *dlt*.
- f. Other readings possible, as the syntax is lost.

Translation: recto

1. Come to me my [^a
2. for she speaks to me (the) custom [(of)^b
3. acting according to the word (which) she wrote (for) men
4. concerning Osiris within . [
5. the statues (of) Osiris (which) I found.^b
6. I protect^c him who enters.
7. I watch over him who [

Translation: verso

1. (traces)
2. (traces)
3. . . [
4. they shall not . . [
5. I am with you [
6. birth . . [
7. she has come (?) [.

Notes

- a. Some epithet of the goddess Isis to be restored; cf. textual note above.
- b. These restorations are forced if we assume that

the sherd is complete. Lines 3-4 make this assumption likely. The change of person in lines 1-2 is paralleled in Text 10, R^o 18-19.

c. *tym* is regularly construed with *ir* in our texts. The use of *ir* before *hrh* in the following line is stranger, but two explanations are possible: that *hrh* is nominal, in which case we must supply (*n*) before *pꜥ*, or that the writer has remembered the origin of *hrh* as a compound *hry-ih* (Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, 69-70). *ir-t hrh* would then be for **hrh-t*. The second explanation is very likely.

Remarks

Although the name is missing, there is little doubt that this short text concerns the goddess Isis. The recto opens with an invocation to the goddess similar to those contained in Text 10. She is described as delivering an address of some sort, and a reference is made to some statues of Osiris. These may be the same as those mentioned in Text 20, 6 above, but the whole is rather obscure. The first person pronouns in lines 6-7 are reminiscent of the Isis-aretalogies with their repeated *ἐγώ*; cf. Appendix 1 above. The speech of the goddess seems to continue on the verso; the change to the third person in the final line may mark its end.

Postscript

At the end of this volume, it is tempting to wonder how much of the original archive of Hōr is contained within its pages. It is obvious that many of the ostraca are small fragments, whose continuations are missing. It is equally clear that, although we have learnt much of the life of Hōr, the surviving texts are far from giving a complete picture. This may have been deliberate policy by Hōr and his secretary, but it is difficult not to believe that further pieces are lost. Some no doubt perished; one or two may even come to light in museum collections where they have gone unrecognized; the rest perhaps still lie scattered along the road that led southwards from Hepnēbes to the Serapeum.

February, 1974

J. D. RAY

INDEXES

NOTE: References are given by text, the numbers of which are set in bold type.

§ 1. PROSOPOGRAPHY

A. GODS

1. 3st Isis

- 1, 10 *ti nbt ttwy 3st*
 12 *3st ti ntrt cit n pry Kmy*
 2, V° 14 *3st ti ntrt cit*
 3, R° 5-6 *3st ti nbt ti grpyt*
 11 *n-ty 3st*
 22 *lr-k hr(?) hity-k n 3st*
 22-3 *lr-k n gy n 3st n gyl nb*
 23-4 *bn-lw-k cš n ntr m-s 3st*
 3, V° 1 *3st ln n sšn(w)*
 6 *3st ti Pr-cit tm nb*
 6, V° x+9 *id. (restored)*
 8, V° 2 *m-šm m-bih 3st*
 3 *lm(t) n-l try-t hnw 3st*
 9, R° 1 *] ms 3st*
 11 *[hnw] 3st*
 9, V° 4 *m-bih 3st rnpt nbt*
 10, R° 3 *3st wryt*
 6 *try-t Tm(?) 3st*
 7 *3st wryt*
 8 *3st ti ntrt cit nbt mrt*
 10 *3st Tm(?)*
 12 *3st try-t hst*
 14 *qd n-l 3st*
 16 *try-t Tm(?) 3st ti Pr-cit tm nb*
 18 *try-t Tm(?) 3st ti nbt p nwh nty snh*
 11, V° 1 *3st lrm n ntrw n p ti mh*
 3-4 *3st lrm n ntrw n p ti rs*
 5 *3st*
 7 *3st qd mrt n n nty mrt*
 12, V° 4 *p hm-ntr 3st*
 15, R° 7 *3st lrm Nbt-ht*
 V° 8 *] 3st*
 18, R° 6 *3st tpy wtn n R*
 14 *bn-lw thr-t 3st wrt hk(?)*
 18, V° 17 *m cw 3st hnt Nbt-ht cit*
 19, R° 8 *p by n 3st*
 20, 5 *p hrd n 3st*
 6 *ti snt n 3st*
 25, 3 *p by n Wsir Hr 3st*
 26, R° 12 *p hm-ntr 3st p wrb nty*
lr mnh n 3st
 27, R° 5 *3st*
 28, 9 *3st [*
 12 *(ht 3st)*
 15-16 *lr try's hnw 3st wrt phrt*
 31A, 3 *p hm-ntr 3st*
 45, 4 *3st n-drt-f r-dbr's*
 47, 1-3 *3st lrm-w lw's mš hr p mw*
 59, 20 *3st htp n-lm-f*
 64, 6 *st hnk m-bih 3st*

For *dml-n-3st* see below. See also the Greek index under *ἰσις*.

2. 'Iy-m-htp Imhōtep

- 1, 4 *p r-pr 'Iy-m-htp nty lw*
hn 'Iwnw
 16, R° 7-8 *'Iy-m-htp s Pth i-lr-w*
cš n f n n ttwy dr-w
 17A, 8-10 *p hr-th 'Iy-m-htp (id.)*
 18, V° 2-3 *'Iy-m-htp km(?) rnsfy*
 15 *ntr pr m Dwt 'Iy-m-htp*
wr s Pth
 59, 6 *'Iy-m-htp s Pth*

3. 'Imn-Rc Amen-Rc

- 59, 18 *'Imn-Rc nb Sm-Bhdt*

4. 'Inp Anubis

- 15, R° 7 *p hr-hb 'Ibt 'Inp Hr-*
s-3st pty

5. Wsir Osiris

- 8, V° 4 *m-šm m-bih Wsir*
 5 *[m-bih] Wsir ptyt*
nb c Wsir
 9, R° 11-12 *ptyt nb Wsir*
 10, R° 4-5 *i-di(?) n f Wsir n Sywt*
 12A, 5 *Wsir nb R-stw*
 18, R° 11 *bn-lw thr-k Wsir*
 13 *st-f (n) Wsir*
 V° 8 *Wsir*
 15 *hry m-šs Wsir pr-k pr-k*
 19, R° 7 *p by n Wsir*
 20, 5 *p by n Wsir p ntr c*
 6 *n ttw n Wsir*
 24B, 6 *p by n Wsir*
 25, 3 *id.*
 26, R° 9 *Wsir*
 V° 3-4 *n mdt n Wsir*
 30, 12 *m-bih Wsir(?)*

6. Wsir Mr-wr Osormnevis

- 1, 2 *ti wrbt Wsir Mr-wr n 'Iwnw*
 5 *[ti] wrbt Wsir Mr-wr*
 13, 3 *ptyt nb c Wsir-Hp lrm*
Wsir Mr-wr
 6 *sdm hrtw ptyt nb*
Wsir Mr-wr

7. Wsir-Hp Osorapis

- 1, 2 *ti wrbt Wsir-Hp n Mn-nfr*
 13, 3 *ptyt nb Wsir-Hp*
 4 *id.*

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20, 11 *Wsr-Ḥp pṣ rṣ pṣ rṣ*
33, 1 *ht-ntr Wsr-Ḥp*
See also *Pr-Wsr-Ḥp* below.

8. *By-ḥ* Buchis(?)
18, R° 8-9 *By-ḥ By-ḥ(?)*
See note p. 68.

9. *Pth* Ptah
16, R° 7 *sṣ Pth*
17A, 8 id.
18, V° 15 id.
19 *sṣ wr n Pth i-ir-snfy*
19, R° 6 *pṣ by n Pth*
15 *nṣ wrbw n Pth*
17 *nṣ shw n Pth*
22, R° 7 *nṣ wrbw n Pth*
25, 6 *nṣ wrbw nty rḥ m-biḥ Pth*
59, 6 *sṣ Pth*

10. *Mrt* Ma'at (as goddess)
18, R° 6 *Mrt tpy wtn n Rr*
V° 11 *Ḥwt nḥ Mrt*

11. *Nbt-ht* Nephthys
15, R° 7 *tṣ snt 2t 3st irm Nbt-ht tṣy*
18, V° 17 *3st hnr Nbt-ht rṣt*
19, R° 8 *pṣ by n Nbt-ht*
20, 6 *pṣ by n Nbt-ht tṣ snt*
n 3st

12. *Nfr-tm* Nefertēm
18, V° 4 *Nfr-tm sšn nfr*
Nfr-tm ḥkrw nfr
5 *Nfr-tm sšn*

13. *Rr* Rē
18, R° 1 *hy Rr ntr rṣ*
(an error for *Rr-Ḥr*?)
3 *hy Rr n mṣr-ḥrw*
6-7 *tpy wtn n Rr*
15 *Rr mn-s*
V° 13 *Shmt rṣt sst n Rr*

14. *pṣ Rr* Prē
19, R° 6 *pṣ by n pṣ Rr*
33, 8 *Ḥr-mtw pṣ Rr htp*
The latter is not in a devotional context.

15. *Rr-Ḥr* Ra'-Horus
18, R° 1 *Rr-Ḥr nb pt / ltn / pr*
n mhy
2 *Rr-Ḥr nht n 'Iwnw*
3 *Rr-Ḥr n tṣ / wbn / shm*
shm n nṣ ntrw
4 *Rr-Ḥr ḥḥ n 'Iwnw (etc.)*

16. *Rr-Šw* Ra'-Shu
18, V° 6 *Rr-Šw m rn-f nb*

17. *Ḥt-Ḥr* Hathor
18, R° 6 *Ḥt-Ḥr tpy wtn n Rr*

18. *Ḥrpy* Nile (?)
18, R° 13 *ḥms Ḥrpy rnh mw hnt*
V° 5 id.

19. *Ḥp* Apis
18, R° 7-8 *Ḥp wtn nb Ḥp sk nb*
19, R° 6 *pṣ by n Ḥp(?)*
64, V° 7 *pṣ ḥm-ntr Ḥp*
See also *Pr-Ḥp* below.

20. *Ḥmk* (= *Ḥmg*) the bandaged one (Osiris)
18, V° 4 see notes, pp. 69, 72.

21. *Ḥr* Horus
10, R° 4 *drt Ḥr i-dl(?) n-f Wsr*
18, R° 2 *Ḥr ḥḥ(?) Ḥr hrby pt*
12 *Ḥr-dsryt*
V° 8 *Ḥr-bik*
19, R° 7-8 *pṣ by n Ḥr*
20, 5 *pṣ by n Ḥr pṣ hrd n 3st*
25, 3 *pṣ by n Wsr Ḥr 3st*
31A, 1 *pṣ ḥm-ntr Ḥr*
For *Ḥr-pṣ-hrd* see the following.

22. *Ḥr-pṣ-hrd* Harpocrates
9, R° 3 *Ḥr-pṣ-hrd pṣ ntr rṣ*
18, V° 8 *Ḥr-pṣ-hrd wr tp rṣ*
Note also 20, 5 quoted above, under 21.

23. *Ḥr-sṣ-3st* Harsiēsis
15, R° 7 *'Inp Ḥr-sṣ-3st*

24. *Ḥnsw* Khons
1, 6 *]tryn(?) pṣ ḥm-ntr Ḥnsw*
18, R° 7 *Ḥnsw tpy wtn n Rr*

25. *Shmt* Sakhmis
18, V° 13 *Shmt rṣt sst n Rr*

26. *Skr-Wsr* Seker-Osiris
18, R° 9 *Skr-Wsr n pt / n tṣ / etc.*
n ht-f nbt
10 *Skr-Wsr m hrby nb /*
bhn n-f lrt-f by n-f
ḥty-f
V° 19 *Skr-Wsr m sh(?)f*
Tyt sṣ wr n Pth i-ir-snfy

27. *Šw* Shu
19, R° 7 *pṣ by n Šw*

28. *Gb* Geb
19, R° 7 *pṣ by n Gb*

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29. *Tm*

10, R° 2, 6, 10, 16, 18.

Probably an epithet of Isis; see notes, p. 47, and Appendix 1.

30. *Tyt* Tayit

18, V° 19 *Skr-Wslr m sh(?)f*
Tyt

Possibly a personification of the idea of weaving: see note, p. 70.

31. *Tfn(t)* Tefēni ('Tefnut)

19, R° 7 *pj by n Tfn(t)*

32. *Dhwtj* Thoth

- 1, 10 *pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
13 *Dhwtj rhr hys*
2, V° 15 *Dhwtj pj (?) pj (?) pj (?)*
3, R° 8 *Dhwtj lrm-k*
13 *pj hb (?) n Dhwtj prys it*
16 *Dhwtj pj rh(?) rh pj*
enb pj wr-dlw hb(?)
5, 5 *(n)-ty Dhwtj*
7, 10 *mdt Dhwtj dd*
12 *nj hrdw n Dhwtj*
8, R° 1 *hb Dhwtj*
5 *lnk pryk ts Dhwtj*
V° 1 *m-sm m-bih Dhwtj t-dd-s*
lm n-l pryl nb (?) Dhwtj
12, 2 *Dhwtj hb n-lm-l*
9 *Dhwtj pj (?) pj (?) nty*
ry n ms
12A, 2 *id.*
16, R° 1-2 *pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
12 *pj wr-dlw Dhwtj*
17, 2 *pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
7-8 *Dhwtj nb rhr*
11-12 *r pj wr-dlw Dhwtj tr-rh*
21-2 *n rwy-drt Dhwtj pj nb rh*
18, R° 6 *Dhwtj tpy wtn n Rr*
V° 9 *mdt t-tr-hr-k Dhwtj hh(?)*
11 *id. mdt t-tr-hr-k Dhwtj*
pj nb tr-rh
19, R° 2-3 *Dhwtj pj ntr rnf t-tr-shy*
n ht-ntr Mn-nfr
5 *pj by n Dhwtj pj (?) pj (?) pj (?)*
9 *r-pr Dhwtj*
10 *dt Dhwtj hpr-f n-w snt*
21, R° 1 *nj wrbw n Dhwtj*
3-4 *ht-mdt(?) Dhwtj*
8 *smn-s Dhwtj n Mn-nfr*
22, R° 2 *pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
V° 2° *Dhwtj pj (?)*
23, R° 2 *Dhwtj (?) nb Pr-Dhwtj*
7 *nj (t-)dd-w pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
V° 8-9 *id.*
16 *id. (followed by ht rswt)*
24A, 3 *Dhwtj r htp r-hn [*
25, 4 *pj by n Dhwtj (?) (?) (?)*
11 *nj (t-)dd-w pj ntr (?) Dhwtj*
26, R° 17 *gm n-l Dhwtj lwh*
V° 10 *ht-mdt Dhwtj pj (?) pj (?) pj (?)*
27, V° 8 *Dhwtj lwf ln sgy*

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61, 16

62, 2

See also *Pr-Dhwtj* and *Hr* (II) below, and 'Epuffs in the Greek Index.

Dhwtj (?) (?) nb Hmno

nj sdyw n Dhwtj

Dhwtj hb n-lm-l

tj mdt wpy Dhwtj

m-bih Dhwtj (?) wpyt

wpy-s pj ntr (?) Dhwtj

[Dhwtj] pj (?) (?)

Dhwtj wpy

my hn-s Dhwtj

Dhwtj pj (?) pj (?) pj (?) hry pj nb n pj hity

Dhwtj] pj (?) pj (?) pj (?)

Dhwtj pj (?) [

B. 'DEMONS'

1. *ms-rdwy* fashioner of feet(?)

18, R° 2° *ms-rdwy nty hn ht-ntr-f*

2. *rh-rn-k* knower of thy name

18, V° 12 *ry rh-rn-k m wtyt*

C. DIVINE BARKS

1. *Sktt* the (M)*sktt*-bark

12, 9 *nj ntrw nty n tj hst tj Sktt*

12A, 3 *id.*

18, R° 7 *Skty Mti(?) pj wtn n Rr*

2. *Mti(?)* the *Mndt*-bark

Doubtful: see notes to 18, R° 7, p. 68.

D. RULERS

1. *3tyk(y)s* (Antiochus IV Epiphanes)

1, 7 (restored)

2, R° 5 *nj msw n 3tyks rws.*

9 *pj rd n 3tyks*

V° 8 *id.*

11 *nj msw n 3tyks rws.*

3, V° 10 *hnn 3tyks rws.*

14 *r-hn r sm ... t-tr 3tyks*

4, R° 8 *nj msw n 3tykys*

2. *Pr-ri* *3rgsntrs* (Alexander the Great)

31A, 2 *pj wrb (?) n Pr-ri 3rgsntrs*

3. *Pr-ri* *Ptreomys* (Ptolemy VI Philometor)

1, 8-9 *pj rd n Pr-ri Ptreomys*

pryn hry

(addressee)

2, R° 1 *id.*

7, 1 *id.*

27, R° 1 *id.*

28, 1 *id.*

29, 1 *id.*

9 *id.*

37, 2 *id. (restored)*

The βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖος of the Greek Index.

INDEXES

4. *Pr-ṣ* *Pṛwmys pṣ sn* (Ptolemy 'the Brother', later Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II)

28, 1-2 *Pr-ṣ Pṛwmys lrm Pr-ṣ*
Pṛwmys pṛyṣ sn

Cf. 40, 4 *lrm pṛyṣ sn(?)*

The βασιλεύς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἀδελφός of the Greek Index, and the same personage as 6 below.

5. *tṣ Pr-ṣt Kṛwptrṣ* (Queen Cleopatra II)

3, R° 2 addressee (name inserted)
7, R° 1 id.
28, 2-3 id. (name inserted)
29, 1 id. (title and name inserted)
9 id.

The βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα of the Greek Index.

In 3 and 29 the royal pair are qualified as *nṣ ntrw ṣy* 'the great gods', an epithet which in 3 seems to have been altered to *nṣ ntrw mr-mwt-w* = θεοὶ φιλομήτορες.

6. *Pṛwmys* Ptolemy

3, V° 19 *Pṛwmys lrm-f*

Apparently a retrospective and neutral reference to Ptolemy 'the Brother'; see notes, p. 29, and 4 above.

7. *Pr-ṣ* Pharaoh (unqualified)

1, 6 *pṣ sh Pr-ṣ n Mn-nfr*
10 *pṣ ṣ-shn n Pr-ṣ*
14 *Pr-ṣ dlt-mdt hn-f*
15 *pṣ ṣr ṣ n Pr-ṣ*
3, V° 18 *dl-w ṣrt rn-s n Pr-ṣ*
20 *mṣr Pr-ṣ r Mn-nfr*
4, R° 2 *sṣtrks htr n Pr-ṣ lrm tṣ Pr-ṣt*
5 *pṣ ṣr ṣ n Pr-ṣ*
9 *nṣ shkṛw n Pr-ṣ*
6, V° x+7 [grpyt] *nty n dṣdṣ-k Pr-ṣ*
7, 8 *wḍṣ pṣ ṣhr Pr-ṣ*
9, R° 6 *Pr-ṣ mdt lrm-l*
12, V° 2 *pṣ ṣ-shn n Pr-ṣ*
18, V° 8 *hms Pr-ṣ*
10 *dl-k Pr-ṣ tym*
14 *mtw-k smṣr Pr-ṣ ṣr dṣ*
19, R° 17 *pṣ rd n Pr-ṣ*
23, R° 10-11 id.
V° 13 id.
26, R° 6 *nṣ ltyw n Pr-ṣ*
V° 13 *nṣ hst n Pr-ṣ*
29, 10-11 *Pr-ṣ [] Pr-ṣ*
30, 3 *nṣ shw n Pr-ṣ*
33, 2 *pṣ ṣl n Pr-ṣ*
3 *tṣ hrt n Pr-ṣ*
9 *lṣ rnh n Pr-ṣ*
11 *n rn Pr-ṣ*
12 as l. 9.
36, 16 (?) (see note *ad locum*, p. 108).
60, 2 *hr wḍṣ pṣ ṣhr Pr-ṣ*
61, 9 *smṣ n-k Pr-ṣ*

In all cases except those of purely official meaning (*lṣ rnh n Pr-ṣ* etc.) the title seems to refer to Philometor.

8. *tṣ Pr-ṣt* the Queen (unqualified)

1, 18 *tṣ Pr-ṣt ms lṣ hwtṣ*

3, V° 18

4, R° 2

27, R° 3

13

16

18

20

37, 3

Note the article. In all cases the reference seems to be to Cleopatra II. For *Pr-ṣt n tm nb* as an epithet of Isis see index to gods above and Appendix 1.

9. *nṣ Pr-ṣw* the Pharaohs (unqualified).

2, R° 12 *dl-l-s n nṣ Pr-ṣw*
V° 4 id.

19, R° 15 *nṣ Pr-ṣw ṣr dṣ*

22, R° 3 *hb nṣ Pr-ṣw hty(?) n-lm-s*

All cases except 19, R° 15 refer to Philometor and his brother in the joint reign; the exception clearly implies the monarchs currently ruling, i.e. Philometor and his wife Cleopatra II.

10. *pṣ lt (n) pṣ lt* the father of the father

19, R° 13-14 *hst-sp 16 n pṣ lt n pṣ lt*

Apparently a reference to Ptolemy IV Philopator as grandfather of the reigning king; see notes p. 78. A plural, *nṣ ltyw n Pr-ṣ* 'the (fore)-fathers of Pharaoh' occurs in 26, R° 6; cf. also 61, 12.

11. *pṣ ṣr (n) Pr-ṣ* the son of Pharaoh

1, 15 *pṣ ṣr ṣ n Pr-ṣ grp*

3, V° 1 *ṣst tn nṣ shn(w) n pṛy-k ṣr*

4, R° 5 *tṣ nty lty pṣ ṣr ṣ n Pr-ṣ*
dd lw-w ms-f

In all cases probably the crown prince Ptolemy Eupator; see also notes to 5, 2, p. 33.

B. PRIVATE PERSONS

1. *ṣwrys* Eulaeus(?)

Only in the locality *Pr-ṣwrys* below.

2. *ṣmnys* Ammonios

3, V° 16 *ṣmnys nty hn tṣ hyty(?)*

3. *ṣrstn* Ariston

4, R° 15 *ṣhr-l lrm ṣrstn nty hn [*

26, R° 1 *[wṣ mkmk n] ṣrstn n Tbnṣ*

Possibly two different characters. The latter was an important personage, cf. 26, V° 12-14.

4. *ṣrkhrts* Archelaidas(?)

3, V° 16-17 *ṣrkhrts nty hr Mn-nfr*

Reading of name uncertain.

5. *ṣktryn(?)*

7, 7 *ṣktryn l-lṣ Tbnṣ smn*

See notes *ad locum*, p. 37.

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6. 'Irh-ms 'Aḥmosi

19, R° 16-17 'Irh-ms s; P₁-dl-Nfr-tm p; rd Pr-₁ t-wn-n; kn n ht-ntr

7. 'Imn-p₁-ym Amenpayom

32, R° 8 t-ir-hr 'Imn-p₁-ym

8. 'Irt-w-r-w Iturōw

45, 5 p; hr-tb 'Irt-w-r-w (s) sp-sn

9. Wn-nfr Onnofri

19, R° 21 Wn-nfr s; Hp-t-ir-dl-s
p; t-ir p; mst

10. Bn-tw-w(?) -sdm Enneusōtem(?)

12, 7 Bn-tw-w-sdm p; wcb nty stp
n p; nty wcb

11. P₁-ym Payom

22, R° 6 father of 14 below.

12. P₁-hm-ntr-'Imn Phentamūn

12, 1 t-hb-t r wih n P₁-hm-ntr-'Imn
5 (n; mdt) t-wih P₁-hm-ntr-'Imn
n-lm-w
6 p; t-shn n P₁-hm-ntr-'Imn
8 [t-ir-hr P₁-hm-ntr-] 'Imn

13. P₁-šr-(n)-n₁-šw Pshennesōw

12, 3-4 t-hr-t irm P₁-šr-n-n₁-šw
n R₁-kd tw-f n hr-tb hn
n; rmtw

14. P₁-šr-(n)-t₁-lht Pshentehe

22, R° 6 P₁-šr-n-t₁-lht (s) P₁-ym
nty kn ht-ntr

15. P₁-dl-Mntw(?) Petimonth(?)

22, R° 7 P₁-dl-Mntw(?) p; mr-kn

16. P₁-dl-Nfr-tm Petineftēm

19, R° 16 father of 6 above.

17. P₁-dl-Hr-p₁-lry(?) Petiharperē(?)

26, R° 12 P₁-dl-Hr-p₁-lry(?) p; hm-ntr 1st p; wcb nty
lr mnh n 1st

18. Mtp_r

46, 3] nty Mtp_r [
Unidentified name.

19. Nwmnys Noumenios

3, V° 21 mkr Nwmnys (r) Hrm;
See notes, p. 29, and Commentary, § 2.

20. Nfr-tm-t-ir-dl-s Neftēmertais

19, R° 21 (prisoner).
One of the six prisoners.

21. Hrynys Eirenaios(?)

1, 8-9 Hrynys t-wn-n; hr t; hit t;
mtgt [] p; rd n Pr-₁
P₁rwmys p₁y-n hry
2, R° 8 Hrynys t-wn-n; sitrks
V° 3 hb Hrynys hty(?)
3, V° 8 t-ir t₁ n-smy n Hrynys
12-13 bn-pw Hrynys nht n; mdt
15 t-ir Hrynys py(?) nty
4, R° 1-2 t; t₁ t-ir n-t Hrynys t-wn-n;
sitrks htr n Pr-₁ irm t; Pr-₁
5, 4 [Hrynys] t-wn-n; sitrks htr
[n Pr-₁] ... t; nty p₁y n;
mdt-nfrt n [Hrynys?]

See notes pp. 13 and Commentary, § 2.

22. Hp-t-ir-dl-s Hapertais

(i) 19, R° 21 father of 9 above
(ii) 19, R° 22 father of 26 below
Possibly the same person.

23. Hr-n-drt-f(= nd-lt-f) Harendjiōtef

19, R° 1 father of Hor of Sebennyto
(24 below)
21, R° 2 restored
27, R° 2 id.
28, 3 id.
29, 2 id.
9 (traces)

24. Hr (i) Hor of Sebennyto

1, 1 Hr p; sh rmt Pr(?) -Dhwty
n p; t; [Tb-ntr]
2, R° 1 Hr p; sh rmt dml-n-1st
nbt tph(?) t; ntrt t; n p;
t; Tb-ntr
V° 1 id.
7, 3 Hr p; rmt dml-n-1st t;
ntrt t; nbt tph(?) nty tw n
p; t; n Tb-ntr
8, R° 3-4 qd-f n-t Hr t₁ k qnt
10, R° 5 sh Hr hit-sp 12
9 sh Hr n Pr(?) -Dhwty
11 sh Hr n Pr-Wdyt
17 sh Hr n Pr(?) -Dhwty
12, V° 1 n-drt Hr
18, V° 3a sh Hr hit-sp 101
19, R° 1 sh t; Tb-ntr Hr (s) Hr-n-drt-f
21, R° 2 id. (father's name restored)
22, R° 1 n-drt Hr
23, R° 1-2 n-drt Hr nty hr t; p;
mtry n n; stbhw n Dhwty
V° 8 n-drt Hr nty smy n w; hr
n; t-dd-w p; ntr t;
24A, 1 n-drt Hr nty hrh [
25, 1 n-drt sh t; Tb-ntr Hr nty
hr Mn-nfr
26, R° 2 [n-drt Hr rmt] dml-n-1st n
p; t; n Tb-ntr
27, R° 2 Hr s; Hr-[n-drt-f] p; sh rmt
dml-n-1st
28, 3 n-drt Hr s; Hr-[n-drt-f]

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- 28, 3 (cont.) *rmt Pr(?) - Dhwtj n p: tš n*
Tb-ntr
 29, 2 *Hr [s: Hr-n-drt:f] p: sh rmt*
dml-n-3st n p: tš n Tb-ntr
 9 id.
 36, 4(?) *[n-drt Hr nty hr Mn-nfr](?)*
 48, 1 *n-drt sh tš Hr nty hr [Mn-nfr]*
 56, 1 **[n-drt Hr nty hn](?)*
 See also *Ἄπορ* in the Greek Index, and the Commentary, § 1.

25. *Hr* (ii) the Memphite *Hor*

- 12, R° 1 *n-drt Hr-Dhwtj*
 16, R° 1 *n-drt Hr nty wbi p: smy*
n n: rhyt n Kmy
 17, 1 id.
 19, R° 4 *m-kdy Hr-Dhwtj(?) hn-f*
 23, V° 15 *n-drt Hr Dhwtj nb cnh*
 30, 1 *n-drt Hr-Dhwtj*
 See notes to Text 12, R° 1, p. 53, and the Commentary, § 1, end.

26. *Hr* (iii) *Hor*

- 19, R° 22 *Hr s: Hp-l-r-dl-s*
 One of the six prisoners.

27. *Hr* (iv) *Hor*

- 19, R° 22 *Hr s: Hns-Dhwtj*
 One of the six prisoners.

28. *Hr-p:sn* Harpason

- 31A, 3 (plaintiff)

29. *Hr-nb-cnh* Harnebōnkh

- 31A, 3 (plaintiff)

30. *Hr-hb* Harkhēbi

- 31A, 3 (plaintiff)

31. *Hr-gmy(?)* Harkhēmi(?)

- 19, R° 21 (prisoner)
 One of the six prisoners.

32. *Htp-lh-hrt(?)* Hetpanhūri

- 23, R° 9 *Htp-lh-hrt(?) p: hr-tb*
 See note, p. 88 for other readings.

33. *n: htrw* the twins

- 32, R° 1 (plaintiffs)
 See note and discussion, p. 104.

34. *Hr-Hp* Khaḥapi

- 19, V° 1 *Hr-Hp p: hm-ntr hms cn(?)*

35. *Hns-Dhwtj* Khensthoth

- 19, R° 22 father of 27 above.

36. *Srpyn* Sarapion

- 31A, 1-2 *Srpyn p: hm-ntr Hr p: wrb*
c: n Pr-c: 3rgsntr
 31B, 7 *t: hmt n Srpyn*

37. *Gry(n)*, Cleon(?)

- 2, R° 9 *Gryn: p: rd n 3tyks*
 2, V° 7-8 *Gry: p: rd n 3tyks*
 3, V° 11 *Gry: p: yf rd*
 See notes, p. 19, and Commentary, § 2.

38. *Ta-Hrd* Takhrati

- 15, R° 5-6 *Ta-Hrd [t:] hmt n Tyskrts*
 Wife of 40 below.

39. *Tynys* Deinias(?)

- 3, V° 22 *mšr Tynys (r) Pr-lr-'Imn*
 See note, p. 29, and Commentary, § 3.

40. *Tyskrts* Deisicrates(?)

- 15, R° 6 husband of 38 above.
 See p. 60, for other versions of the name.

41. *Tytts* Diodotos

- 2, R° 16 *hr Tytts p: sitrks*

42. *Tmpn* Demophon(?)

- 7, 6 *p: htm nty lw Tmpn Tbny hms*
hr it:f
 17 *] Tmpn*
 See notes, p. 37, and Commentary, § 2.

43. *D-hr-p:lm(?)* Djeḥepemou(?)

- 23, R° 10-11 *D-hr-p:lm(?) p: rd n*
Pr-c: nty šn n: r-prw
 V° 13 id.
 Reading doubtful: see notes, p. 88.

44. *D-hr-p:hb* Djeḥephibi

- 33, 9 *D-hr-p:hb p: sdm-cš*
n n: hbw
 10-11 *dl D-hr-p:hb p: cn-smy*
n t: sntgsy

45. *D-hr-p:trš* Djeḥepetrōsh

- 19, R° 21-2 (prisoner)
 One of the six prisoners.

46. *]mnh(?)*

- 1, 4 *]mnh(?) [p:] wrb p: r-pr*
'Iy-m-htp nty lw hn 'Iwmw
 See notes, p. 9.

47. *] tryn(?)* [So]terion(?)

- 1, 6 *]tryn(?) p: hm-ntr Hnsu*
p: sh Pr-c: n Mn-nfr
 See notes, p. 9.

48. *]gs* see notes to 62, 4, p. 172.

F. TITLES AND FUNCTIONS

1. *wrb* (ordinary) priest

- 1, 4 *[p:] wrb n p: r-pr n*
'Iy-m-htp

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- 12, R° 7 *pj wrb nty stp n pj nty wrb*
 19, V° 5 *stp wrb rnpt s 3 lw-w nhty*
 11-12 *pj wrb n hrt-f m-s-s*
 14 *pj wrb s 3*
 21, R° 12 *wrb s 3*
 V° 15 *pj wrb n hrt-f m-s-s*
 17 *tj hny n pj wrb*
 22, R° 9 *mtw wrb z*
 26, R° 12 *pj wrb nty lr mnj n 3st*
 30, 2 *pj wrb r n Pr-rj 3rgsntr*
 55, 3 *pj wrb hn [*
 59, 5 *wr wrb lw r-hn n nty-wrb*

2. *nj wrbw* the priests

- 1, 1 *wr mkmk t-hr nj wrbw*
 19, R° 15 *nj wrbw n Pth*
 25 *n tj mtrt t-lr-hr nj wrbw*
 V° 4 *hn-w-s t-lr-hr n nj wrbw*
 15 *mtw nj wrbw tp hr pj swt*
 21, R° 1 *nj wrbw n Dhwtj*
 22, R° 7 *nj wrbw n Pth*
 V° 3 *nj wrbw nty hn*
 23, V° 1 *t-lr-hr nj wrbw*
 25, 6 *nj wrbw nty ck m-bjh Pth*
 26, V° 8 *nj wrbw n 3st*
 59, 6 *hw wrbw*

3. *pj 25 wrb nty mnk mdt* the twenty-five priests who conclude affair(s)

- 19, V° 3 *pj 25 wrb*
 21, R° 11 *pj 25 wrb nty mnk mdt*
 See notes, pp. 79-80, and Commentary, § 4.

4. *nj wmw* the pastophoroi

- 19, V° 14-15 *nj wmw n tj wshyt n*
 Pr-Wsr-Hp
 21, V° 18-19 *nj wmw n Pr-Wsr-Hp*
 22, V° 3 *n-drt nj wmw nty lw-w wqj(?)*
 23, R° 19 *nj wmw [n tj wsh]yt n*
 ht-ntr Pr-Pth
 V° 21-2 *nj rmtw (nj wmw) lrm*
 n nty hr nj 3stwr hr
 tj wshyt

See also παστοφόρος in the Greek Index, and the Commentary, §§ 3, 4.

5. *nty hr Mn-nfr* who is in Memphis

- 3, V° 16-17 *3rkhrts(?) nty hr Mn-nfr*
 Perhaps only a description of locality; as such used by Hor (i) above.

6. *mr-šn* lesōnis

- 22, R° 7 *Pj-dl-Mntw(?) pj mr-šn*
 See note, p. 85, and the Commentary, § 4.

7. *nj mštw* the inspectors

- 19, R° 12 *dlr rđ nb hr nj mštw*
 23 *dl-w ln-w nj mštw*
 V° 2 *nj mštw *na*
 12-13 *nj mštw n nj rwyw-n-htp n pj hb nj rwyw n*
 pj blk

- 21, V° 16 *pj mštw n wrt dnyt*
 22, V° 2 *nj mštw n nj rwyw n*
 wrt dnyt
 23, R° 17 *nj mštw n nj rwyw*
 V° 3 *[nj] mštw*

The associated *pj mštw* is found in Text 19, R° 21, *pj t-lr pj mštw* and in Text 23, V° 2, *tj nty tjy pj mštw*. The verb is found in 21, R° 14.

8. *nj rmtw rjy* the great men

- 1, 5 *t-hr nj rmtw rjy*
 19, R° 15 *hms nj rmtw rjy n ms*
 hn nj wrbw n Pth

9. *nj rmtw dry(w)* the mighty men

- 7, 14 *nj rmtw dryw nty lw gm lwj*
 16, R° 11-12 *tjy-w gns n-drt nj rmtw dry*
 17, 5 *id.*
 27, V° 8-9 *Dhwtj lw-f in sgnj n-drt*
 nj rmtw dryw n wr sp
 61, 7-8 *nj rmtw] dryw t-lr lr tj knt*

10. *nj rmtw nty lr bsk* the men who perform work

- 33, 6 *mtw nj rmtw nty lr bsk*
 wmm sm

See note, p. 107, and Commentary, § 4.

11. *pj rmt nty lr n pj hb* the man who serves the Ibis

- 23, R° 15 *pj rmt nty lr n pj hb lrm*
 nry-f swtw

12. *nj rmtw nty dlt htp* the men who perform burial

- 19, V° 19 *nj rmtw nty dlt htp*

13. *rd* agent

- 26, V° 12 *lr-k pj rdwy (sic) n*
 nry-k hrdw m-s-s-k
 18, V° 9 *nj rdw n nj ntrw*

14. *pj rd n Pr-rj* the agent of Pharaoh

- 1, 8-9 *pj rd n Pr-rj Ptrumys*
 pjy-n hry
 19, R° 17 *pj rd n Pr-rj t-wm-nj hn*
 n ht-ntr
 23, R° 10-11 *pj rd n Pr-rj nty hn*
 n nj r-prw
 V° 13 *id.*

See also Gry(n) above.

15. *nty hn tj hyty* who is within the portal(?)

- 3, V° 16 *3mnys nty hn tj hyty*
 39, x+2 *(?)*
 See notes, p. 24.

16. *hm-ntr* prophet

- 1, 6 *]tryn(?) pj hm-ntr Hntw*
 12, V° 4 *pj hm-ntr 3st*
 15, R° 5 *pj hm-ntr 'Ibt*
 18, V° 9 *nj hm-ntr nj ntrw*

INDEXES

- 19, V^o 1 *p* *hm-ntr* *hms* *en*(?)
 26, R^o 12 *p* *hm-ntr* 3st *p* *wb*
 nty *ir* *mn* *n* 3st
 27, R^o 5 3st *p* *hm-ntr*(?)
 31A, 1 *Srpn* *p* *hm-ntr* *Hr*
 3 *Hr-hb* *hm-ntr* 3st
 64, V^o 7 *p* *hm-ntr* *Hp*
17. *hr-tb* magician
 12, R^o 3-4 *Pt-kr-n-ni-lsw* ... *twf*
 n *hr-tb* *hn* *n* *rmtw*
 16, R^o 8 *sm* *l* *hr-tb* 4
 17A, 3 id.
 8 *p* *hr-tb* 'Iy-m-*htp* *s* *Pth*
 22, R^o 3 *ch* *l* *irm* *p* *hr-tb*
 23, R^o 9 *Htp* 'In-*hrt* *p* *hr-tb*
 V^o 19 *tm* *dlt* *isk* *p* *hr-tb*
 45, 5 *na*(?) *p* *hr-tb* 'Irt-w-r-w
 See the Commentary, § 3.
18. *p* *hn* 20 the twenty administrators(?)
 See notes to 33, 4, p. 105. Reading doubtful.
19. *hr-hb* lector-priest
 15, R^o 5 *p* *hr-hb* 'Ibt
 7 id.
20. *sitrks* strategos
 2, R^o 8 *Hrynys* *i-wn-n* *sitrks*
 16 *Tytts* *p* *sitrks*
 4, R^o 1 *Hrynys* *i-wn-n* *sitrks*
 htr *n* *Pr-c* *irm* *t* *Pr-c* *it*
 5, 4 [*Hrynys*] *i-wn-n* *sitrks* *htr*
21. *n* *shnw* the administrators
 8, V^o 4 *n* *shnw* *n* *Mn-nfr*
 See note, p. 41.
22. *sh* scribe
 1, 1 *Hr* *p* *sh*
 2, R^o 1 id.
 19, R^o 1 *sh* *t* *Tb-ntr*
 17 *n* *shw* *n* *Pth*
 21, R^o 2 *sh* *t* *Tb-ntr*
 25, 1 id.
 27, R^o 2 *p* *sh*
 28, 2 id.
 48, 1 *sh* *t*
23. *sh* *Pr-c* 'royal scribe'
 1, 6]*tryn*(?) *p* *hm-ntr* *Hnsu*
 p *sh* *Pr-c* *n* *Mn-nfr*
 30, 3 *n* *shw* *n* *Pr-c*
 See notes to 1, 6, p. 13. The second example may well have another meaning.
24. *sdm-c* servant
 19, R^o 12 *n* *sdm-c* *n* *n* *hbw*
 irm *n* *sdm-c* *n* *p* *blk*
 19-20 id.
 21, V^o 1-2 *n* *sdm-c* *n* *n* *hbw*
 n *sdm-c* *n* *p* *blk*
 22, V^o 4-5 *n* *sdm-c* *n* *n* *hbw*
 irm *n* *sdm-c* *n* *p* *blk*
 23, R^o 21 (see notes).
 24B, 1 (restored?)
 33, 9 *D-hr-pi-hb* *p* *sdm-c*
 n *n* *hbw*
25. *sn* *n* *ht-ntr* controller of (the) temple
 19, R^o 17 ('I*ch-ms*) *p* *rd* *n* *Pr-c*
 i-wn-n *sn* *n* *ht-ntr*
 22, R^o 6-7 *Pt-kr-n-ti-lht* *nty* *sn*
 ht-ntr
 Cf. also 23, R^o 11 and 31A, 3-4. See notes, p. 79 above and the Commentary, § 4.
26. *n* *nty* *hr* *n* *šštw*
 23, V^o 22-3 *n* *nty* *hr* *n* *šštw* *hr* *t*
 wshyt *n* *ht-ntr* *t* *thnyt*
 See note, p. 90, and the Commentary, §§ 4, 5.
27. *ts* foreman, officer
 8, R^o 1 *w* *ts* *hl*
 2-3 *p* *m* *sc* *wn-n* *p* *y* *l* *ts*
 n *lm* *f*
 3 *p* *y* *l* *ts* *gm* *ht-ntr*(?)
 5 *lnk* *p* *y* *k* *ts* *Dhwty*
 See notes to this text, p. 42.
28. watchman(?)
 33, 7-8 *smn* *rmt-rh* *wb* *p* *hb*
 t *m* *st* *n-s* *p* *hb* *š* *c* *mtw* *p*
 R *htp* *twf* *hrh* *p* *hb* *dlt* *w* *d* *f*
 Reading uncertain; perhaps *mn-nlwt*. See notes, p. 106, and the Commentary, § 4.

§ 2. TOPOGRAPHY

A. COUNTRIES

1. *t* *mry* *n* *p* *ym* the isle of the sea
 4, R^o 9-10 *twf* *šm* (r) *t* *mry* *n* *p* *ym*
 Probably a description of Cyprus: see note, p. 32, and the Commentary, § 2.
2. *Hrm* Rome
 3, V^o 21-2 *m* *š* *Nwmmys* (r) *Hrm*
 See note, p. 25, and the Commentary, § 2.

3. (*p* *t*) *Hr* (the land of) Syria

- 1, 12 *p* *y* *Kmy* *p* *t* *Hr*
 13 *p* *ym* *n* *Hr*

4. *Kmy*(t) Egypt

- Dem. Text
 B, 3 *mdt* *rmt-n-Kmy*
 1, 7 *Kmy* *pnk* *n* *lm* *f*
 12 3st *t* *ntr* *c* *t* *n* *p* *y* *Kmy*

INDEXES

- 2, R° 6 *lw-f šm n-f n sgr r-bl Kmy*
V° 12 id.
3, R° 1 *p: nb n Kmy*
7-8 *p: khy n Kmy*
V° 9-10 *wn-n: Kmy pnk n-lm-f n*
Rr-kd
4, R° 4 id. (restored)
8-9 *t-ir-f šm r-bl Kmy*
6, V° x+6 *p: hp Kmy*
7, 4 *n: hbw n Kmy*
11-12 *n: chyt n Kmy*
11, V° 6 *n: ntrw n Kmy*
16, R° 1 *n: chyt n Kmy*
17, 1 id.
22, R° 2 *t: mdt ph Kmy*
V° 6* (?)
27, V° 6 *n: chyt n Kmy*
29, 2 *] Kmy hr-w*
38, 3 *ly (r) K[my*
40, 2 *šm-f r-bl Kmy*
46, 5 *dt-l-s n-f n šh rmt-n-Kmy*
51, 2 (?)
59, 17 *stp dml (n) Kmy*

5. *p: t: mh* the north land

- 11, V° 1 *3st lrm n: ntrw n p: t: mh*
63, 4 *n: tkw n p: t: mh*

6. *p: t: rs* the south land

- 11, V° 4 *n: ntrw n p: t: rs*

B. TOWNS AND CITIES

1. 'Iwnw Heliopolis

- 1, 1-2 *t: wrbt Wslr Mr-wr n 'Iwnw*
1, 2 *tw-l hr(?) 'Iwnw*
4 *p: r-pr 'Iy-m-htp nty lw hn*
'Iwnw
5 *tw-l ly 'Iwnw*
5, 3 *ht-ntr 'Iwnw*
13, 7 *t: hst libtt n 'Iwnw*
18, R° 4 *Rr-Hr-hk(r) n 'Iwnw*
8 *n: sštw cy n 'Iwnw*
by 'Iwnw (twice)
32, R° 7 *ht-ntr 'Iwnw*

2. 'Ibt Abydos

- 15, R° 1 (restored)
5 *[p: hm-]ntr 'Ibt p: hr-hb*
'Ibt
7 *[p: hr-]hb 'Ibt*
9 *ht-ntr 'Ibt*

3. Yb Elephantine

- 16, R° 6 *Yb r n: wrbt Sm-bhdt*
17, 13 id.

4. *anh-twy* 'Ankhtawy

- 18, V° 3 *nb anh-twy n Mn-nfr*
7 *pr m anh-twy* p:*
wy l-ir wqr p: kk

V° 7 (cont.) *anh-twy**

- R° 1* *hh nty hn anh-twy**
23, R° 6 *R-stw anh-twy**
59, 2 *nb anh[-twy]*
See the Commentary, § 5. The examples asterisked are written in hieratic.

5. *rrk-hh* 'Alekhah

- 18, V° 16 *lr-k hs rrk-hh*
See note, pp. 72-3.

6. *Pi-šh-Dhwti* Piahthoth

- 59, 18 *Pi-šh-Dhwti*

7. *Pr-šwrys* Pi-Eulaeus(?)

- 1, 7 *wn-n: štyks hr pr-mh Pr-šwrys*
3, V° 10-11 *hnn štyks n pr-mh Pr-šwrys*
Identification doubtful: see notes, p. 28 and the Commentary, § 2.

8. *Pr-ir-'Imn* Pelusium

- 3, V° 13-14 *r-hn r šm r-bl*
Pr-ir-'Imn l-ir štyks
22-3 *mšc Tynys (r) Pr-ir-'Imn*
37, 4 *Pr-ir[-'Imn](?)*
See notes, p. 28, and the Commentary, § 2.

9. *Pr-Wšdyt* Buto

- 10, R° 11 *sh Hr Pr-Wšdyt*

10. *Pr-wrb-nb-s* Pi-wa' b-nēbes

- 21, R° 6-7 *dt mnt hr-f n Pr-wrb-nb-s tw-w tr hrsf*
13 *tn šir-mtwf ly (r)*
Pr-wrb-nb-s
V° 12-13 *thm p: mšc n Pr-Wštr-Hp (r) Pr-wrb-nb-s*
See the Commentary, §§ 4, 5.

11. *Pr-Wštr* Pi-Osiri (House-of-Osiris)

- 23, R° 4-6 *t: hst Pr-Wštr hr p:*
dw pr-mh n R-stw anh-twy
58, 12 *p: tš n Pr-Wštr*
63, 3 *] hn Pr-Wštr*
See the Commentary, § 5, pp. 149 f.

12. *Pr-Wštr-Hp* the (Memphite) Serapeum

- 8, R° 14 *ln-l-s r-hry Pr-Wštr-Hp*
23-4 *cwy-n-htp Pr-Wštr-Hp*
V° 6 *p: cwy-n-htp n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
13, 4 *n: ntrw nty htp n R-stw*
Pr-Wštr-Hp
8 *tw-l šms n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
12 *šms n-lm-f n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
19, V° 10 *p: mšc n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
14-15 *t: wšhyt Pr-Wštr-Hp*
20, 1 (?)
21, V° 12 *p: mšc n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
18-19 *n: wnw n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
23, R° 3 *p: dw rs n Pr-Wštr-Hp*
p: nty n Mn-nfr

INDEXES

- 24B, 1 *Pr-Wsr[-Hp](?)*
37, 1 *tw-l fms n Pr-Wsr-Hp*
See the Commentary, § 5.
13. *Pr-Wsr-Hp p: r: the great (Alexandrian) Serapeum*
2, R° 12 *Pr-Wsr-Hp p: r: nty*
n Rc-kd
V° 5 id.
3, V° 19-20 id.
See notes, p. 19.
14. *Pr-Bnw Pi-boine*
8, R° 7 *na Pr-Bnw p: shny*
n t: ht-ntr Pr-Bnw
See notes, p. 42.
15. *Pr-piy-f-try Pi-peferē*
12, R° 2 *Dhwti hb n-tm-i hr*
Pr-piy-f-try
25, 9 *hr Pr-piy-f-try*
30, 6 (restored)
See notes to 12, R° 2, p. 53. A doubtful example may occur in 8, R° 6.
16. *Pr-psdt(?) Pi-psite(?)*
12, R° 5 *ht-ntr Pr-psdt(?)*
Reading doubtful: see notes, p. 52.
17. *Pr-Pth House of Pth*
23, R° 19 *ni umw n t: wshyt*
ht-ntr Pr-Pth
18. *Pr-ni-lhy House of the Spirits (Pi-nikhi)*
18, V° 9 *dd wr hsf(?) n ni*
ntrw Pr-ni-lhy
Probably mythical: see notes, p. 72.
19. *Pr-Hp House of Apis*
9, V° 9 *tw-w dlt htp-k n p:*
wy-n-htp Pr-Hp
An ellipsis for *Pr-Wsr-Hp*? See notes, p. 45.
20. *Pr-Dhwti (i) House of Thoth*
3, R° 15 *t: ht-ntr Pr-Dhwti*
13, 5-6 *ni nty htp hr t: it n*
t: krt Pr-Dhwti n Mn-nfr
23, R° 2-3 *Dhwti nb Pr-Dhwti nty hr p:*
dw rs n Pr-Wsr-Hp
6 *tw-l wš n: ssw n Pr-Dhwti*
See the Commentary, § 4.
21. *Pr(?) Dhwti (ii) Pi(?) Thoth*
1, 1 *Hr p: sh rmt Pr(?) Dhwti*
n p: tš n [Tb-ntr]
8, R° 19 *tw-f n Pr(?) Dhwti*
9, R° 2 *[r-pr] Pr(?) Dhwti*
10, R° 9 *sh Hr n Pr(?) Dhwti*
17 id.
28, 3 *rmt Pr(?) Dhwti n p:*
tš n Tb-ntr
- 45, 6 *] Pr(?) Dhwti r-hn p: tr*
59, 19-20 *in-n: bn-tw g: dmi [m-s:] Pr-Dhwti*
See the Commentary, § 1. For the reading, cf. the notes to 1, 1, p. 8.
22. *Pr-*
15, V° 8 *3st p: rmt Pr-*
See notes, p. 60.
23. *Mn-nfr Memphis*
1, 2 *t: wbt Wsr-Hp n Mn-nfr*
3 *hrc-l(?) p: y-l dmc lrm*
p: y-l gšt n-drt-l n Mn-nfr
6 *p: sh Pr-r: n Mn-nfr*
2, R° 9-10 *bw-lr-tw Gryn: šm n-f*
r-bl Mn-nfr
V° 7-8 id.
3, V° 1 *n ht-ntr Mn-nfr*
11-12 *bw-lr-tw Gryn: . . . wy Mn-nfr*
17 *3rkhrts nty hr Mn-nfr*
20-1 *mšc Pr-r: (r) Mn-nfr*
5, 2-3 *hpr p: hrc-rd n p:*
šš-shn n Mn-nfr
8, R° 11-12 *n wy-n-htp Mn-nfr*
12-13 *tw-l hr t: hny Mn-nfr*
22 *lr-k mwt Mn-nfr*
22-3 *hr t: hyl Mn-nfr*
V° 4 *ni shmw Mn-nfr*
5-6 *ni hyst (?) Mn-nfr*
9, V° 5 *ni ssw nty tw-l lr-w Mn-nfr*
6 *lr-k smn Mn-nfr šc dt*
11, V° 3 *p: wn rsy Mn-nfr*
13, 5-6 *t: krt Pr-Dhwti Mn-nfr*
15, V° 3 *hrt p: h[b nty h]n Mn-nfr*
15A, V° x+1 *] Mn-nfr*
17A, 4 (erased)
19, R° 3 *ht-ntr Mn-nfr*
19 *in-w n: sdm-š n n: hbw*
(r) Mn-nfr
20, 10 *] . . . Mn-nfr hn p: y-f hr*
23, R° 3 *p: dw rs n Pr-Wsr-Hp*
p: nty n Mn-nfr
15 *pr-lmnt Mn-nfr*
24A, 4 *m-kdt Mn-nfr lrm ntyf [*
25, 1 *Hr nty hr Mn-nfr*
30, 9 *ph:s n Mn-nfr*
43, 1 *Mn-nfr lrm . . . [*
62, 5 *Mn-nfr m-bih [*
See the Commentary, § 5.
24. *Mhy(?) Lower Egypt(?)*
18, R° 8 *by 'Iwmw by Mhy(?) by 'Iwmw*
20, 8 *(?)*
In 18 other readings are possible: see note, p. 68. The appearance in 20 is uncertain.
25. *Rc-kd Alexandria*
1, 13-14 *p: wy-n-mr n Rc-kd*
14 *Rc-kd smn wbt p: hf*
2, R° 4 *p: wd: n Rc-kd*
12 *Pr-Wsr-Hp p: r: nty n*
Rc-kd
15 *tw-l in-tw Rc-kd*

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- 2, V° 5 *Pr-Wsr-Ḥp pṯ ḥ nty*
n Rḥ-kd
 3, R° 2 *nty wḥ-shn n Rḥ-kd*
 V° 10 *Kmy pnk n-lm-f n Rḥ-kd*
 20 *Pr-Wsr-Ḥp pṯ ḥ nty n Rḥ-kd*
 4, R° 4 *[Kmy pnk n-lm-f n] Rḥ-kd*
 6 *pṯ wḏṯ n Rḥ-kd*
 10 *ḥw-f ṛḥ n Rḥ-kd*
 12, 3 *ḥḥ-i ḥrm Pṯ-ḥr-n-nṯ-lsw*
n Rḥ-kd
 19, R° 18 *ḥb-w ḥty(?) n Rḥ-kd*
 29, 10 *Rḥ-kd [*
 30, 8 *] i ḥrw-i n Rḥ-kd*
 41, 2 *] Rḥ-kd dd [*

26. Ḥp-nb's Ḥepnēbes

- Dem. Text B,] ... *Ḥp-nb's n rn pṯ*
 4 *ntr ḥ*
 5A, x+4] ... *Ḥp-nb's rnpt(?) 25(?)*
 13, 4-5 *R-stw Pr-Wsr-Ḥp ḥrm*
R-stw Ḥp-nb's
 19, R° 9 *nṯ byw ḥy n Ḥp-nb's*
 V° 6 *mtw-w ty r Ḥp-nb's*
 10 *thm pṯ mṣṣ Pr-Wsr-Ḥp*
r Ḥp-nb's
 22, R° 4 *tṯ wmtt n Ḥp-nb's*
 10-11 *tṯ wḥt n Ḥp-nb's*
 V° 1 *wḥt rṯ Ḥp-nb's*
 23, R° 4 *ḥw-i ḥms nṯ ḥrw n Ḥp-nb's*
 13 *[dlt] mnt ḥr pṯ ḥb pṯ blk*
n Ḥp-nb's
 V° 20 *smn pṯ ḥp n pṯ ḥb pṯ blk n*
Ḥp-nb's
 30, 10 *Ḥp-]nb's ḥwy ḥb*
 See the Commentary, §§ 4, 5.

27. Ḥmnw Hermopolis

- 28, 12 *Dḥwy ḥ ḥ nb Ḥmnw(?)*
 Cf. Appendix 2. For a discussion of the various cities known to the Greeks as Hermopolis see the Commentary, § 1.

28. Sywt Siut

- 10, R° 4-5 *drt Ḥr i-dl(?) n-f Wsr n Sywt*

29. Smṯ-bḥdt Sambehdet

- 16, R° 6 *Yb n nṯ wḥt Smṯ-bḥdt*
 17, 13 *id.*
 59, 18 *'Imn-Rḥ nb Smṯ-Bḥdt*
 See notes, p. 63.

30. pṯ Ḥ the lake

- 10, R° 3-4 *tṯ ntrt ḥt n pṯ ḥm(?)*
pṯ Ḥ
 33, 2 *pṯ Ḥ n Pr-ḥ*
 See notes, p. 48, and the Commentary, § 5.

31. Tbny Daphnae(?)

- 7, 6-7 *pṯ ḥtm nty ḥw Tmpn Tbny ḥms*
ḥr it-f ḥḥtryn i-ḥr (T)bny smn [
 26, R° 1 *ḥrstn Tbny*

- 60, 1-2 *i-ḥr Tbny smn pṯ mṣṣ*
 See notes, p. 36.

32. tṯ thn(yt) the Peak

- 18, V° 2-3 *'ly-m-ḥtp ḥm(?) rnsy*
tṯ thn nb ḥnh-twy n Mn-nfr
 23, V° 23 *ḥt-ntr tṯ thnyt*
 59, 2 *ḥt-ntr tṯ thny nb ḥnh[-twy]*
 See notes, p. 90, and the Commentary, § 5.

33. Tb-ntr Sebennytos

- 1, 1 *pṯ tṯ [Tb-ntr]*
 2, R° 3 *pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr*
 V° 2 *pṯ tṯ Tb (sic)*
 7, 3 *pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr*
 8, R° 2 *dṯ-w ḥḥ-i n Tb-ntr*
 19, R° 1 *n-drt sh tṯ Tb-ntr*
 21, R° 2 *id.*
 25, 1 *id.*
 26, 2 *pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr*
 28, 3 *id.*
 29, 2 *id.*
 9 *id.*
 31A, 4 *id.*
 See also Σεβέννυτος in the Greek Index.

34. Dml-n-ṯst Temenēsi

- 2, R° 2-3 *Dml-n-ṯst tṯ ntrt ḥt*
nbt tḥh(?) n pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr
 V° 1 *id.*
 7, 3 *Dml-n-ṯst tṯ ntrt ḥt*
nbt tḥh(?) nty ḥw n pṯ
tṯ Tb-ntr
 26, R° 2 *Dml-n-ṯst n pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr*
 27, R° 2-3 *(?)*
 29, 2 *Dml-n-ṯst n pṯ tṯ Tb-ntr*
 9 *id.*
 58, 2 *(?)*
 See also Ἰσιος πόλις in the Greek Index.

35. Ddlt Djedit

- 13, 6-7 *nṯ ntrw nty ḥtp n R-stw*
Ddlt ḥrm nṯ ntrw n tṯ ḥst
ḥbtt n 'Iumw
 18, R° 1* *try-k st nfrt Ddlt*
 Name of the necropolis of Heliopolis: see notes, p. 55.

C. COSMOLOGY

1. pt heaven

- 9, R° 10 *dṯ-i wḥ tṯ pt*
 10, R° 10 *nbt pt ḥmṣ tṯ*
 18, R° 1 *Rḥ-Ḥr nb pt*
 2 *hy Ḥr ḥrby(?) pt*
 9 *Skr-Wsr n pt Skr-Wsr n tṯ*
 For the link with the goddess Isis see Appendix 1.

2. Dwt Netherworld

- 18, R° 5 *ḥrt-f n-drt-f m Dwt*
 7 *Ḥnsu tḥy wtn nb Dwt*
 14 *wḏṯ Dwt(?)*
 V° 15 *ntr pr m Dwt*
 18 *ḥt-k n tṯ Dwt*

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§ 3. CHRONOLOGY AND NUMBERS

A. REGNAL YEARS

<i>hst-sp</i>	1	12, R° 4
	2	2, R° 7, 8, 12 V° 6, 7, 12 29, 2(?)
	3	22, R° 9, 20 V° 14
	5	5, 1 22, R° 3
	8	21, R° 10 (<i>twice</i>)
	9	12, R° 2 19, R° 14 25, 7
	10	18, V° 3a 19, V° 4
	12	10, R° 5
	13	3, V° 12, 14, 15, 20 4, R° 3 (<i>note</i>).
	15	9, R° 1
	16	19, R° 13 30, 11 31A, 4
	19	61, 12
	21	1, 2
	23	1, 6
	25	33, 1
	26	13, 1 59, 4
	30	29, 2
	34	34 (<i>note</i>).

B. MONTHS

1. *tpy hst* Thoth
3, R° 13
21, R° 10 (*twice*).
33, 1
2. *ibd-2 hst* Paophi
5, 1
3. *ibd-3 hst* Hathor
1, 6
12, R° 4
4. *ibd-4 hst* Khoiak
1, 5
25, 7
An uncertain month, perhaps *tpy*, in the season *hst* occurs in
7, 10.
5. *tpy prt* Tybi (*not found*)
6. *ibd-2 prt* Mekhir
13, 1
59, 4

7. *ibd-3 prt* Phamenoth
17A, 4, 7

8. *ibd-4 prt* Pharmuthi
10, R° 5
19, R° 14, 19
34, 1 (or *šmw*?)

9. *tpy šmw* Pakhons
1, 2
22, R° 3

10. *ibd-2 šmw* Paoni
2, R° 7, 8
V° 7, 12
3, V° 12
18, V° 3a

11. *ibd-3 šmw* Epeiph
2, R° 12
V° 6
3, V° 14, 15, 20
14, R° 3

12. *ibd-4 šmw* Mesorē
22, R° 9, 20
V° 14
34, 1 (or *prt*?)

C. DAYS

<i>sw</i>	1	3, V° 12
	2	1, 2(?)
	9	12, R° 4 18, V° 3a
	11	2, R° 8 V° 7 13, 1
	12	3, R° 13 7, 10 8, R° 1
	14	22, R° 3
	16	17A, 4, 7
	(x) (<i>less than</i> 17)	21, R° 10
	17	10, R° 5 21, R° 10
	19	33, 1
	20	22, R° 9, 20 V° 14
	29	19, R° 14 25, 7
<i>rlky</i>	2	2, R° 7, 12 V° 6, 12 3, V° 14, 15, 20 5, 1 19, R° 19

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D. NUMBRALS

1	19, V° 15(?), 17
	21, V° 7, 8
2	11, R° 1
	13, 1
	19, V° 15
	21, V° 3
	22, R° 9
	59, 8
2t	10, R° 14
	14, R° 5, 7
	31B, 6
	32, R° 5
3	19, V° 5, 14
	21, R° 12
	22, R° 9
3t	21, R° 14 (sic)
	23, R° 8
	33, 3, 6 (sic)
4	16, R° 8
	17A, 3
5	22, R° 8
5t	12, R° 2
	30, 6
6	19, R° 22
8	11, R° 6(?)
20	33, 4(?)
25	5A, x+4(?)
	19, V° 3
	21, R° 11
	31A, 4

32	19, R° 14
35	8, R° 12
	50, 4
201(?)	11, R° 9
280	11, R° 8
365	id.
60,000	8, R° 18 (reading uncertain)
sp-m	3, R° 10
	7, 10
	15, V° 7
	23, V° 4
	26, R° 10
	45, 5
	59, 14

E. ORDINALS

t: mh-1t	8, R° 1
	10, R° 1
t: mh-2t	8, R° 12
	33, 7
	59, 7
t: mh-3t	33, 9

F. FRACTIONS

1/4	19, V° 16
1/2	19, V° 17, 18
	21, V° 7, 8
2/3	33, 3
3/4(?)	19, V° 17 (see notes, p. 77).
See also <i>hst-sp</i> above.	

§ 4. IMPORTANT WORDS AND PHRASES

A. ORACULAR AND PROPHETIC

1. *čš-shn* fortune

Dem. Text A, 3	<i>nfr's n pty-k čš-shn</i>
1, 10	<i>p: čš-shn n Pr-č</i>
5, 2	<i>hpr p: čč-rd n p: čš-shn [</i>
8, R° 9	<i>w' rmt w' čš-shn</i>
V° 7-8	<i>hsty-k nht n pty-k čš-shn</i>
12, R° 3	<i>n: mdt nty nfr-w n p:</i>
	<i>čš-shn n p: hb p: blk</i>
6	<i>p: čš-shn n P: hm-ntr-'Imn</i>
V° 2	<i>p: čš-shn n Pr-č</i>
16, R° 3	<i>p: nty nfr-f n p: čš-shn</i>
	<i>n p: hb</i>
19, V° 6	<i>p: čš-shn n p: hb</i>
21, R° 12	<i>šn p: čš-shn n p: hb p: blk</i>
22, R° 5	<i>p: nty nfr-f n p: čš-shn n p: hb p: blk</i>
10	<i>šn p: čš-shn [[nfr]] n p: hb p: blk</i>
V° 5*	(?)
24B, 3	(restored)
25, 2-3	<i>p: nty nfr-f n p: čš-shn n p: blk</i>
28, 15	<i>smw n: čš-shnw</i>
33, 12	<i>wb: p: čš-shn n p: hb</i>
45, 2	<i>p: nty nfr-f n p: čš-shn n p: hb</i>
48, 2	id.

See the Commentary, § 3.

2. *wšh* oracle, interpretation

8, R° 8	<i>lw-w hb-s (r) wšh</i>
10	<i>lw-w hb-k (r) wšh</i>

9, V° 7	<i>qd's pty's wšh</i>
12, R° 1	<i>l-hb-l r wšh n P: hm-ntr-'Imn</i>
14, V° 8	<i>pty-f wšh qd</i>
20, 7	<i>p: wšh n 3st [</i>
25, 10-11	<i>n: nty lw-w qd n-l n wšh n-lm's r lr-s wšh</i>
	<i>n: l-qd-w p: ntr č: Dhwtv</i>
57, V° x	<i>pty's wšh</i> (see note, p. 115).
See the Commentary, § 3. What seems to be a use of the associated verb occurs in 12, R° 5: <i>n: mdt wn-lw's ph r ly l-wšh P: hm-ntr-'Imn n-lm-w</i> , and possibly in 22, R° 2: <i>t: ht-mdt l-wšh p: ntr č: Dhwtv r-l</i> .	

3. *t: mlt / p: myt* the path

16, R° 4-5	<i>p: nty mšr hr t: mlt rn's nfr's n pty-f čr</i>
	<i>n wš ky</i>
17, 6-7	<i>nw l-tr-f prty(?) n: l-tr hr p: myt</i>
14-15	<i>wtt p: nty mšr hr t: mlt rn's nfr-f n pty-f čr</i>
20-1	<i>wn myt nb n rwy-drt Dhwtv</i>
23, R° 7-8	<i>bn-pwt hr t: yf mlt</i>
V° 9	id.
17	id. (followed by <i>r nhh</i>)
24A, 3	<i>Dhwtv r htp r-hn t: mlt [</i>
45, 3	<i>] p: myt r dlt wq: pty-f čr</i>
See the Commentary, § 3 and Appendix 2.	

4. *mdt-nfrt* benefit

2, V° 6	<i>n: mdt-nfrw l-tr-l čn-smw n-lm-w</i>
3, R° 14	<i>r-db: n: mdt-nfrw l-tr hpr n-lm-k p: hrw</i>
	<i>rn-f</i>

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- 5, 4 *ti nty tpy n: mdt-nfrw [Hrymys(?)]*
mdt-nfrt
 7, 9 *hp ti mdt-nfrt(?)*
 8, R° 9 *ti mdt-nfrt nty tw-w lr-s n:f*
 11-12 *won ti mdt-nfrt nty tw-w lr-s n:k n rwy-n-*
htp Mn-nfr lrm ti mdt-nfrt rn:s
 10, R° 14 *ti mdt-nfrt at*
 12, R° 6 *cs n: mdt-nfrw i-tr ty i-tr-hr p: cš-shn n*
Pi-hm-ntr-'Imn
 16, R° 5-6 *tw-w lr mdt-nfrt n p: hb*
 17, 12-13 *Dhwty lr-rh r p: nty lr mdt-nfrt n p: hb*
 19, R° 4 *ti mdt-nfrt nty tw-w lr-s n p: hb*
 27, R° 5 *mdt-nfrt(?)*
 31B, 4 *ti nbt n ti mdt-nfrt*
 See the Commentary, § 3 and Appendix 1.

5. rswt dream

- 1, 5 *dd-w n:l n rswt*
 11 *tw-w dd n:l rswt*
 2, R° 4 *ti rswt i-dd-w n:l n p: wd: n Rr-kd*
 V° 16 (erased)
 3, V° 9 *r-dbi dd n:l n rswt ti mdt *ta*
 12, R° 5 *ti nty tpy ht-ntr Pr-psdt(?) n rswt*
 14, R° 10 *kt(?) rswt*
 18, V° 18 *lm r rswt n Hrwr(?)*
 20, 7 (?)
 23, V° 16 *n: i-dd-w p: ntr c: Dhwty ht rswt*
 59, 3 *tw-w dd n:l rswt tw-i šms hftb*
 See also *δνειρος* in the Greek Index and the Commentary, § 3.

6. ht-mdt utterance

- 2, V° 14 *ti ht-mdt rn:s*
 17A, 5-6 *bn-pw wr n-lm-w wpy*
ti ht-mdt nty tpy r nty
 19, R° 14 *lr ti ht-mdt rn:s hws rnpt ja*
 21, R° 3-4 *hr ht[-mdt] Dhwty*
 22, R° 2 *ti ht-mdt i-wih p: ntr c: Dhwty r:l*
 V° 7* *ti ht-mdt wt:s*
 23, R° 8 *ti 3t ht-mdt*
 24B, 2 *ti ht-mdt tw-s[*
 25, 4 *ht-mdt ph n p: hb*
 5 *p: hp n ti ht-mdt*
 26, V° 10 *(r-ht) ht-mdt Dhwty p: c: p: c: p: c:*
 28, 19 *dd-f ht-mdt dd [*
 29, 10 *] ht-mdt*
 31B, 5-6 *lrm ti ht-mdt at *ta*
 33, 3 *hr 3t ht-mdt*
 40, 5 *] ht-mdt [*
 45, 4 *ti ht-mdt rn:s*
 47, 4 *hr ti ht[-mdt(?)]*
 See the Commentary, § 3.

7. tpy / tpy fate / fortune (uraeus-goddess)

- 3, R° 4 *nfr:s n tpy:k tpy*
n: nfr:s n tpy:k tpy
 10, R° 8-9 *ti tpy p: tpy*
 See the notes, pp. 26, 157.

B. THE CULT OF THE IBIS

1. rwy-n-hrry house of delay

- 19, V° 6-7 *mtw[-w] lr p: šn n n: ntrw n p: rwy-n-hrry*
n p: ntr nty tw-w gm-f hr p: tr

Possibly a name for the side-galleries of the catacomb: see the note, p. 80, and the Commentary, § 4.

2. rwy-n-htp house of rest

- 8, R° 11-12 *p: rwy-n-htp Mn-nfr*
 23 *rwy-n-htp n Pr-Wsir-Hp*
 V° 6 *cn p: rwy-n-htp n Pr-Wsir-Hp*
 9, V° 9 *tw-w dlt htp:k n p: rwy-n-htp n Pr-Hp*
 13, 1 *p: rwy-n-htp n p: hb*
 19, R° 11-12 *nry:f rwyw-n-htp*
 24-5 *n: rwyw-n-htp n p: hb n: rwyw-n-htp n p:*
 V° 11 *blk*
 12-13 *ty-cš p: hb p: blk r pty:f rwy-n-htp*
 21, R° 7-8 *n: rwyw-n-htp n p: hb n: rwyw n p: blk*
 V° 13-14 *n: rwyw-n-htp nty hr p: dw*
 22, V° 2 *ty-cš p: hb p: blk (r) nry:f rwyw-n-htp*
 23, R° 14 *n: mštw n n: rwyw*
 17 *p: inhry n nry:f rwyw-n-htp*
 V° 5 *n: mštw n n: rwyw*
 25-6 *p: rwy-n-htp [*
 28, 4 *id.*
 (?)

3. rhyt chapel

- 7, 11-12 *n: ntrw nty hwy n: rhyt n Kmy*
 13 *st hf n: rhyt st wrh n-lm-w grh mtry*
 15, V° 5-6 *wih-k shr hr rhyt n šrt tw-i dlt wt-k r ti*
rhyt n ms
 16, R° 1 *n-drt Hr nty wbi p: smy n n: rhyt n Kmy*
 9-10 *ti nty hr n: rhyt rty nty tw p: hb ms*
 17, 1 *n-lm-w hn n: tšw lrm n: rhyt tpyw(?)*
 22, R° 2 *n-drt Hr nty wbi p: smy n n: rhyt n Kmy*
 26, R° 3 *(ti nty tpy n: rhyt nty tw n n: tšw)*
 10-11 (restored)
 21 *mtw-w in-s (r) ti rhy[t. . .] mn sp-sn ti nty*
 27, V° 6-7 *tw p: hb [. . .] r:s*
 29, 13 *n ti rhyt rn:s*
 33, 2 *n: rhyt n Kmy lrm n: mww m-s:w lrm n:*
 10 *trw nty hpr*
 15 *nry:f rhyt[*
 61, 2-3 *ti rhyt n ms nty tw hn p: š n Pr-c:*
 10 *r ti rhyt rn:s*
 See the Commentary, § 4. *dlt kd-w rhyt[*
(n) ti rhyt r-dbi ti šnt (n) ti rhyt
]s ti šnt r ti rhyt

4. p: blk the Hawk

- 11, R° 12 *p: blk(?)*
 12, R° 3 *p: blk*
 19, R° 6 *p: blk p: by Pth*
 8 *p: hb p: blk*
 10 *id.*
 12 *n: sdm-cš n p: blk*
 20 *id.*
 24-5 *n: rwyw-n-htp n p: blk*
 V° 11 *ty-cš p: hb p: blk*
 13 *n: rwyw n p: blk*
 20, 4 *dlt mnt hr p: hb p: blk*
 21, R° 12 *p: cš-shn n p: hb p: blk*
 15 *ti wbt n p: blk p: ntr [rn:f]*
 21, V° 2 *n: sdm-cš n p: blk*
 5 *p: hb p: blk*

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9	id.
13-14	<i>try-ck p: hb p: blk</i>
22, R° 5	<i>p: hb p: blk</i>
10	id.
V° 5	<i>n: sdm-ck n p: blk</i>
23, R° 13	<i>dlt mnt hr p: hb p: blk</i>
22	<i>p: blk</i>
V° 10	<i>p: hb p: blk</i>
20	id.
24-5	id.
24B, 5	(restored)
25, 3	<i>p: ck-shn n p: blk p: by n Wsr Hr 3st</i>
See the Commentary, § 4.	
5. <i>p: hb</i> the Ibis	
11, R° 12	<i>p: hb(?)</i>
12, R° 3	<i>p: ck-shn n p: hb</i>
13, 1	<i>p: cwy-n-htp n p: hb</i>
15, V° 3-4	<i>hrt n p: hb</i>
16, R° 2	<i>mdt nbt nty try p: hb n htyf</i>
5-6	<i>lw-w lr mdt-nfrt n p: hb</i>
17, 2-3	<i>mdt nbt nty try p: hb n htyf</i>
12-13	<i>p: nty lr mdt-nfrt n p: hb</i>
17A, 1-2	<i>bw-lr ibh mdt lw-s try p: hb</i>
19, R° 5	<i>p: hb p: by n Dhwtly</i>
8	<i>p: hb p: blk</i>
10	id.
12	<i>n: sdm-ck n n: hbw</i>
19	id.
24	<i>n: cwyw-n-htp n p: hb</i>
V° 5-6	<i>t: hrt lrm p: ck-shn n p: hb</i>
9	<i>dlt htp p: hb</i>
11	<i>try-ck p: hb p: blk r tryf cwy-n-htp</i>
12	<i>n: cwyw-n-htp n p: hb</i>
20, 4	<i>dlt mnt hr p: hb p: blk</i>
9	<i>ht-ntr p: hb nb htp</i>
13	<i>] n: hbw</i>
21, R° 6	<i>t: mdt ph p: hb n htyf</i>
12	<i>kn p: ck-shn n p: hb p: blk</i>
14	<i>t: wbt n p: hb</i>
17	<i>mnt hr p: hb</i>
V° 1	<i>n: sdm-ck n n: hbw</i>
4-5	<i>dlt hrs p: hb p: blk</i>
9	<i>p: lnhly hr p: hb p: blk</i>
10	<i>dlt htp p: hb</i>
13	<i>try-ck p: hb</i>
22, R° 1	<i>dlt-w mnt hr p: hb twty Ib</i>
5	<i>p: ck-shn n p: hb p: blk</i>
10	id.
V° 4-5	<i>n: sdm-ck n n: hbw</i>
23, R° 10	<i>dlt mnt hr p: hb p: blk</i>
15	<i>p: rmt nty lr n p: hb</i>
21	<i>(p: hb) p: blk</i>
V° 10	<i>p: hb p: blk p: ntr[</i>
20	<i>smn p: hp n p: hb p: blk</i>
24	<i>dlt wd: p: hb p: blk</i>
24A, 2	<i>wd: p: hb</i>
24B, 4	<i>p: hb</i>
5	<i>t: krt n p: hb</i>
25, 4	<i>ht-mdt ph n p: hb p: by n Dhwtly r r</i>
26, R° 7	(restored)
8	<i>hrt n n: hbw</i>
11	<i>t: nty lw p: hb [...] r's</i>
17	<i>t: hrt n n: hbw</i>

V° 6-7	id.
27, V° 9	<i>t: hrt n p: hb</i>
30, 4-5	<i>t: hrt [lrm] t: krt n p: hb</i>
33, 2	<i>lw p: hb lwk</i>
4	<i>hr p: shn l-tr-hr p: hb</i>
6	id.
7	<i>smn . . . (?) rmt-rh wbi p: hb t: mnt n-s</i>
8	<i>p: hb</i>
9	<i>lwf hrh p: hb dlt wd:f</i>
12	<i>p: sdm-ck n n: hbw</i>
14	<i>wbi p: ck-shn n p: hb</i>
45, 2	<i>wrt snht hr p: hb</i>
48, 2	<i>p: ck-shn n p: hb</i>
63, 2	id.
] <i>hb hpr krt nfr(t)</i>	
See the Commentary, § 4.	

6. *t: hrt n n: hbw* the food of the ibises

7, 4	<i>p: hp wpyt t: hrt n n: hbw n Kmy</i>
8, R° 18	<i>try-k trm try hrt n n: hbw 60,000(?)</i>
15, V° 3	<i>hrt n p: hb [nty hn] Mn-nfr</i>
4	<i>dlt try-k hrt n p: hb hr p: tny</i>
16, R° 4	<i>tryf hrt lrm tryf krt</i>
19, V° 5-6	<i>kn t: hrt lrm p: ck-shn n p: hb</i>
22, R° 6	<i>t: nty try tryf hrt lrm tryf krt</i>
9	<i>kn t: hrt</i>
24B, 4	(restored?)
26, R° 7	<i>t: hrt n n: [hbw]</i>
8	<i>] hrt n n: hbw</i>
9	(erased)
13	<i>] hrt rn's</i>
17	<i>t: hrt n n: hbw</i>
V° 6-7	<i>lp t: hrt n n: hbw</i>
27, V° 9	<i>st try t: hrt n p: hb</i>
28, 2	(?)
12	<i>try t: hrt n n: ntrw</i>
30, 4	<i>wbi t: hrt [lrm] t: krt n p: hb</i>
33, 3	<i>t: hrt n Pr-ck [ht(?)] wr ck n hrt</i>
49, 3	<i>t: nty try t: hrt [</i>
61, 5-6	<i>t: hrt (n) n: [hbw . . . t: hrt (n) n: [hbw]</i>
	<i>lrm t: krt</i>

The same word is applied to a human being in 10, 13, 15, *try-k hrt smn wbi-k nry-k ssw n nh* and in 14, V° 10 *p: wd: lrm [t: hrt]*. See the Commentary, § 3 and Appendix 1.

7. *try-ck* lead in procession

19, V° 11	<i>try-ck p: hb p: blk r tryf cwy-n-htp</i>
21, V° 13-14	<i>try-ck p: hb p: blk (r) tryf cwyw-n-htp</i>

Used of the funeral procession held annually; see the Commentary, § 4.

See further *Pr-Dhwtly* (i), Index § 2, B, 20.

C. OTHER WORDS DISCUSSED

1. *mkmk* memorandum

1, 1	<i>wr mkmk l-tr n: wrbw</i>
21, R° 1	<i>wr mkmk l-tr-hr n: wrbw(?)</i>
26, R° 1	<i>wr mkmk n 3rstn n Tbn</i>
31, 1	<i>wr mkmk n Srpyn</i>

See notes, p. 12, and the Commentary, § 1.

2. *t: dnt hry* the supreme inheritance

3, R° 6-7	<i>bn-lw g: ntr bl's l-tr-shy n try-k dnt hry</i>
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- 3, R^o 9 *p: wq: n tly:k dnt hry*
 4, R^o 6 *g: tš n tly:f dnt hry*
 12-13 *t: nty tly t: dnt hry*
 5, 5 *p: wq: n t: dnt hry*
 6, 8 *tly:k dnt hry*
 7, 5 *p: wq: n t: dnt hry*
 See notes p. 22, and the Commentary, § 2.

3. *tly-w gns* wrong has been done

- Dem. Text A, 1 *tly-w gns wn [*
 16, R^o 11-12 *tly-w gns n-drt n: rmtw dry*
 17, 5 *qd lw tly-w gns n-drt n: rmtw dry*
 28, 19 *tly-w gns n-lm-w(?)*
 For the use in petitions see the notes p. 4, and the Commentary, § 1.

4. *dlc-mdt* record

- 1, 10-11 *p: ntr r: Dhwty p: l-tr dlc-mdt hr-w*
 14 *Pr-r: dlc-mdt hn-f*
 3, V^o 24-5 *bn-pw rmt dlc-mdt n p: tr rn-f*
 17A, 11-12 *p: ntr rn-f p: nty dlc-mdt hr nty*
 19, R^o 15-16 *n: rmtw rly n ms hn n: wcbw n Pth*
 i-wn-n: dlc-mdt hn p: r-pr

5. *gy-n-dlc-mdt* document

- 19, R^o 17 *rš n: shw n Pth n: gy-n-dlc-mdt*
 23, R^o 9-10 *lw-w dlt p: gy-n-dlc-mdt n D-hr-p: lmd(?)*
 23, V^o 12 *ht gy-n-dlc-mdt n D-hr-p: lmd(?)*
 30, 3 *n: shw n Pth ht n: gyw-n-dlc-mdt*
 See the Commentary, § 1.

§ 5. INDEX TO THE GREEK TEXTS

1. Αἰγύπτιοι

- A, 5-6 τῶν [Αἰ-]γυπτίων
 B, 7 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 E, 10 id.
 See *Kiny*, Index § 2, A, 4.

2. βασιλεύς

- A, 7-8 καὶ εὐθέως δὲ ἔλθειν ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὸν βασιλέα
 B, 9-10 ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν Θηβαΐδα τὸν βασιλέα εὐθέως
 E, 1-2 βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 11-13 καὶ εὐθέως δὲ ἔλθειν τὸν βασιλέα ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος

See *Pr-r*, Index § 1, D, 7.

3. βασιλεῖς (pl.)

- B, 4-5 περὶ χρ[ησίμων] τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
 E, 8-9 περὶ τινων χρ[ησίμων] τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
 See *n: Pr-rw*, Index § 1, D, 9.

4. Ἑρμῆς

- A, 2-4 ὑπὸ μεγίστου καὶ μεγίστου θεοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμοῦ
 B, 1-4 id.
 D, 3-5 id.
 See *Dhwty*, Index § 1, A, 32, and Appendix 2.

5. Θηβαῖς

- A, 7 ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος
 B, 9 εἰς τὴν Θηβαΐδα
 E, 13 ἕως τῆς Θηβαΐδος
 See the Commentary, § 2.

6. Ἱσίς

- C, 1-3 παστοφόρος τῆς Ἱσίδος τοῦ ἐν Ἱσίδος πόλει ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβέννυτου
 E, 5-7 id.
 See *3st*, Index § 1, A, 1, and *Dml-n-3st*, Index § 2, B, 34.

7. Κλεοπάτρα

- E, 3-4 βασιλίσση Κλεοπάτρα τῇ ἀδελφῇ
 See *i: Pr-rst Kriwptri*, Index § 1, D, 5.

8. ὄνειρος

- B, 1 τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι ([διδά] ὀνείρου)
 See *rswt*, Index § 4, A, 5, and the Commentary, § 3.

9. παστοφόρος

- C, 1-2 ὥρος παστοφόρος τῆς Ἱσίδος
 E, 5-6 id.
 See *n: wnw*, Index § 1, F, 4, and the Commentary, § 3.

10. πράγματα

- A, 4-5 χρήσιμον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων
 D, 1-3 ἔστι τ[] τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι

11. Πτολεμαῖος

- E, 1-3 βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 See *Ptrymws*, Index § 1, D, 6 and *Pr-r: Ptrymws*, Index § 1, D, 3, and the Commentary, § 2.

12. τὰ ῥηθέντα

- A, 1 τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι
 B, 1 id. (plus διὰ ὀνείρου)
 D, 2-3 id.
 See *ht-mdt*, Index § 4, A, 6.

13. Σεβέννυτος

- C, 2-3 τοῦ ἐν Ἱσίδος πόλει ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβέννυτου
 E, 6-7 id.
 See *Tb-ntr*, Index § 2, B, 33.

14. χρήσιμα

- A, 4-5 χρήσιμον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων
 B, 4-5 περὶ χρ[ησίμων] τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
 E, 8-9 περὶ τινων χρ[ησίμων] τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
 See *mdt-nfrt*, Index § 4, A, 4, and possibly *rš-shn*, Index § 4, A, 1.

15. ὥρος

- C, 1-3 ὥρος παστοφόρος τῆς Ἱσίδος τοῦ ἐν Ἱσίδος πόλει ἱεροῦ τοῦ Σεβέννυτου
 E, 5-7 id.
 See *Hr(i)*, Index § 1, E, 24, and the Commentary, § 1.

CONCORDANCE OF NUMBERS

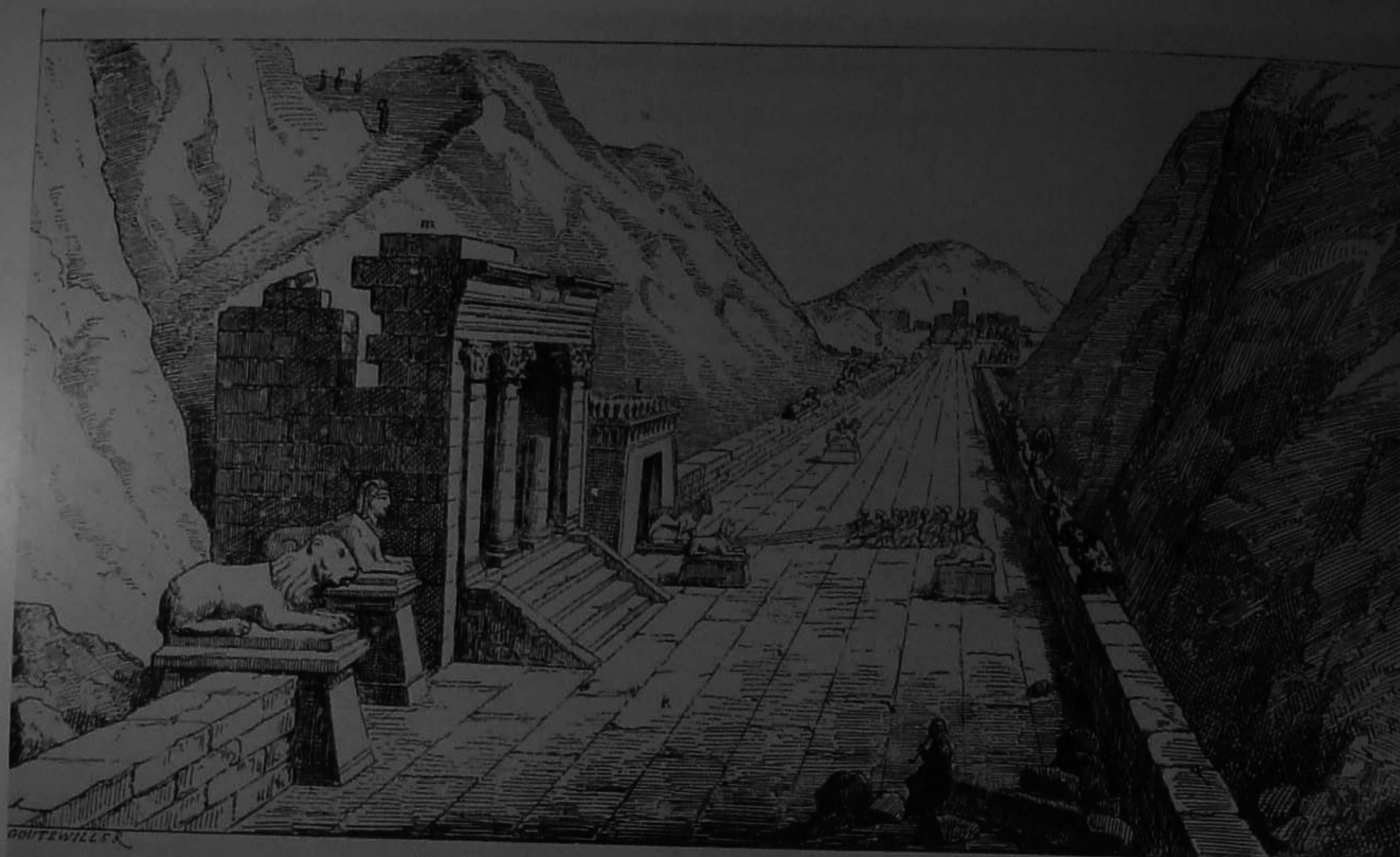
Text no.	Excavator's no.	Antiquities Service Register no.	Plate or fig.
Greek frag.	G7-45	474	fig. 1, pl. VI
Dem. A, B	G7-42	471	fig. 2
1	G7-25	454	pl. II, IIA
2	71/2-131	5399	pl. III
3	G7-26	455	pl. IV, IVA
4	G7-37	466	pl. V, VA
5	G7-27	456	pl. VI, VIA
5A	G7-28	457	pl. VI, VIA
5B	G7-29	458	
6	H6-509	4132	pl. VII, VIIA
7	71/2-120	5388	pl. VII
7A	71/2-220	5488	pl. VII
8	G7-31	460	pl. VIII, VIIIA, IX, IXA
9	71/2-130	5398	pl. X, XA
10	H6-510	4133	pl. XI
11A	71/2-191	5459	pl. XII, XIIA
11B	71/2-113	5381	pl. XII, XIIA
12	71/2-129	5397	pl. XIII
12A	71/2-230	5498	pl. XIV
13	71/2-121	5389	pl. XV
14	G7-32	461	pl. XIV, XIVA
15	G7-(1+2)	432+433	pl. XVI, XVI A
15A	71/2-197	5465	pl. XVI
16	71/2-114	5382	pl. XVII
17+17A	71/2-115	5383	pl. XVIII
18	71/2-112	5380	pl. XIX, XX
19	71/2-116	5384	pl. XXI
20	G7-40	469	pl. XXII, XXIIA
21	H6-511	4134	pl. XXIII, XXIIIA
22	71/2-122	5390	pl. XXIV, XXV
23	71/2-128	5396	pl. XXVI, XXVIA
24A	G7-41	470	pl. XXII, XXIIA
24B	G7-38	467	pl. XXII, XXIIA
25	71/2-124	5392	pl. XXVII
26	G7-24	453	pl. XXVIII, XXVIII A
27	G7-35	464	pl. XXVII, XXVIIA
28	G7-36	465	pl. XXIX, XXIXA
29	G7-39	468	pl. XXX, XXXA
30	71/2-231	5499	pl. XXIX
31A	G7-4	435	pl. XXXI, XXXIA
31B	G7-3	434	pl. XXXI, XXXIA
32	G7-5	436	pl. XXXI
33	H5-778	2525	pl. XXXII
34	71/2-123	5391	pl. XXXII
35	G7-46	475	pl. XXXIII
36	71/2-160	5428	pl. XXXIII
37	71/2-185	5453	pl. XXXIV
38	71/2-186	5454	pl. XXXIV
39	71/2-183	5451	pl. XXXIV
40	71/2-184	5452	pl. XXXIV
41	71/2-187	5455	pl. XXXIV
42	71/2-188	5456	pl. XXXIV
43	71/2-189	5457	pl. XXXV
44	71/2-190	5458	pl. XXXV
45	71/2-192	5460	

CONCORDANCE OF NUMBERS

46	71/2-193	5461	pl. XXXV
47	71/2-194	5462	pl. XXXV
48	71/2-195	5463	pl. XXXV
49	G7-30	459	pl. XXXV
50	71/2-196	5464	pl. XXXVI
51	71/2-221	5489	pl. XXXVI
52	71/2-222	5490	pl. XXXVI
53	71/2-223	5491	pl. XXXVI
54	71/2-224	5492	pl. XXXVI
55	71/2-225	5493	pl. XXXVI
56	G7-33	462	pl. XXXVI
57	G7-34	463	pl. XXXVI
58	H6-62	1388	pl. XXXVII
59	H5-(779+787)	2526+2534	pl. XXXVIII, XXXVIII A
60	H5-780	2527	pl. XXXVIII, XXXVIII A
61	H5-999	2751	pl. XXXVIII, XXXVIII A
62	H6-393	2469	pl. XXXIX, XXXIX A
63	H6-317 i	2165	pl. XXXIX, XXXIX A
64	71/2-(211+212)	5479+5480	pl. XXXIX, XXXIX A
65	72/3-16	6002	pl. XXXIX, XXXIX A

PLATES

PLATE I
FRONTISPIECE



DROMOS GRECO-ÉGYPTIEN CONDUISANT A LA TOMBE D'APIS

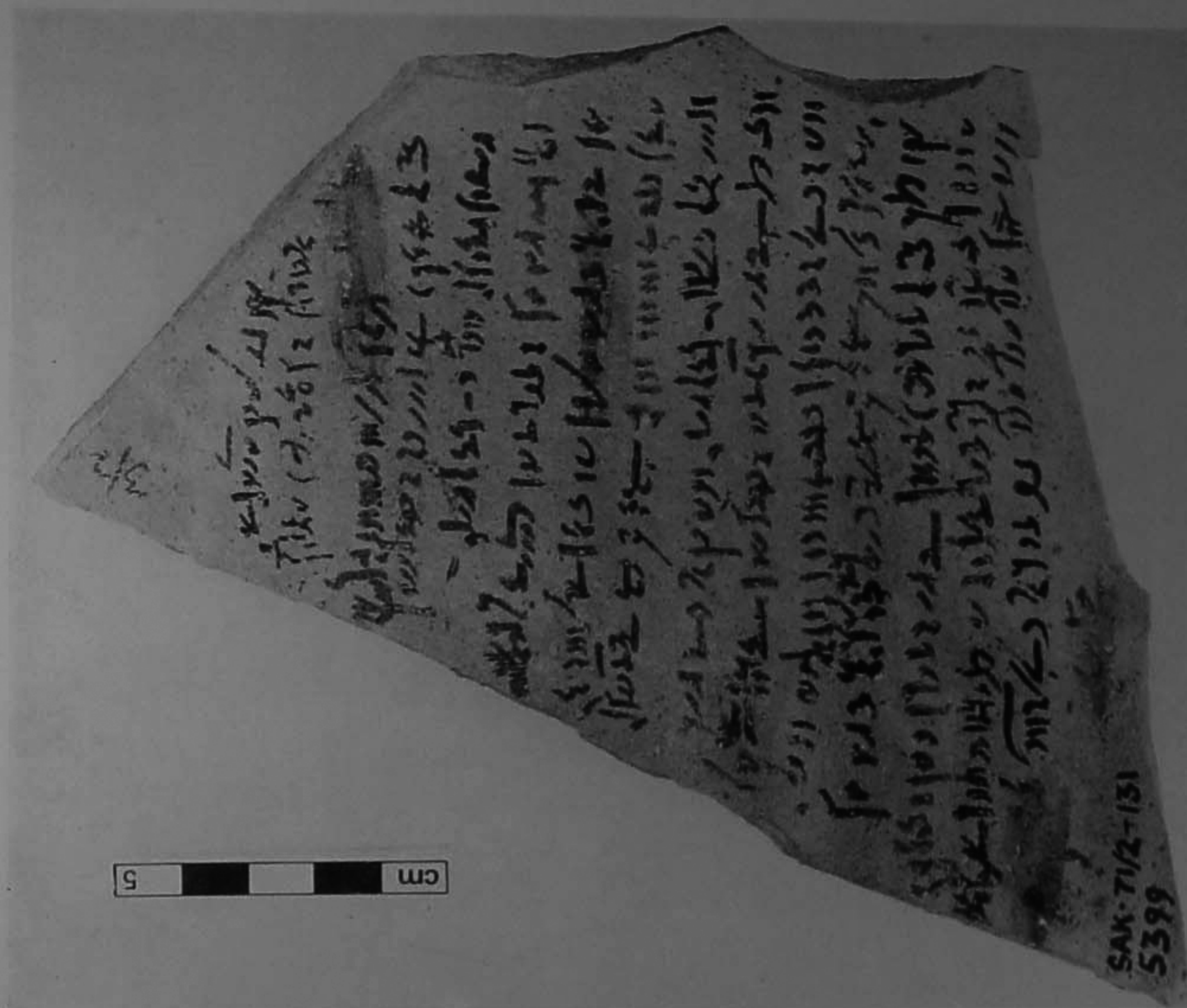
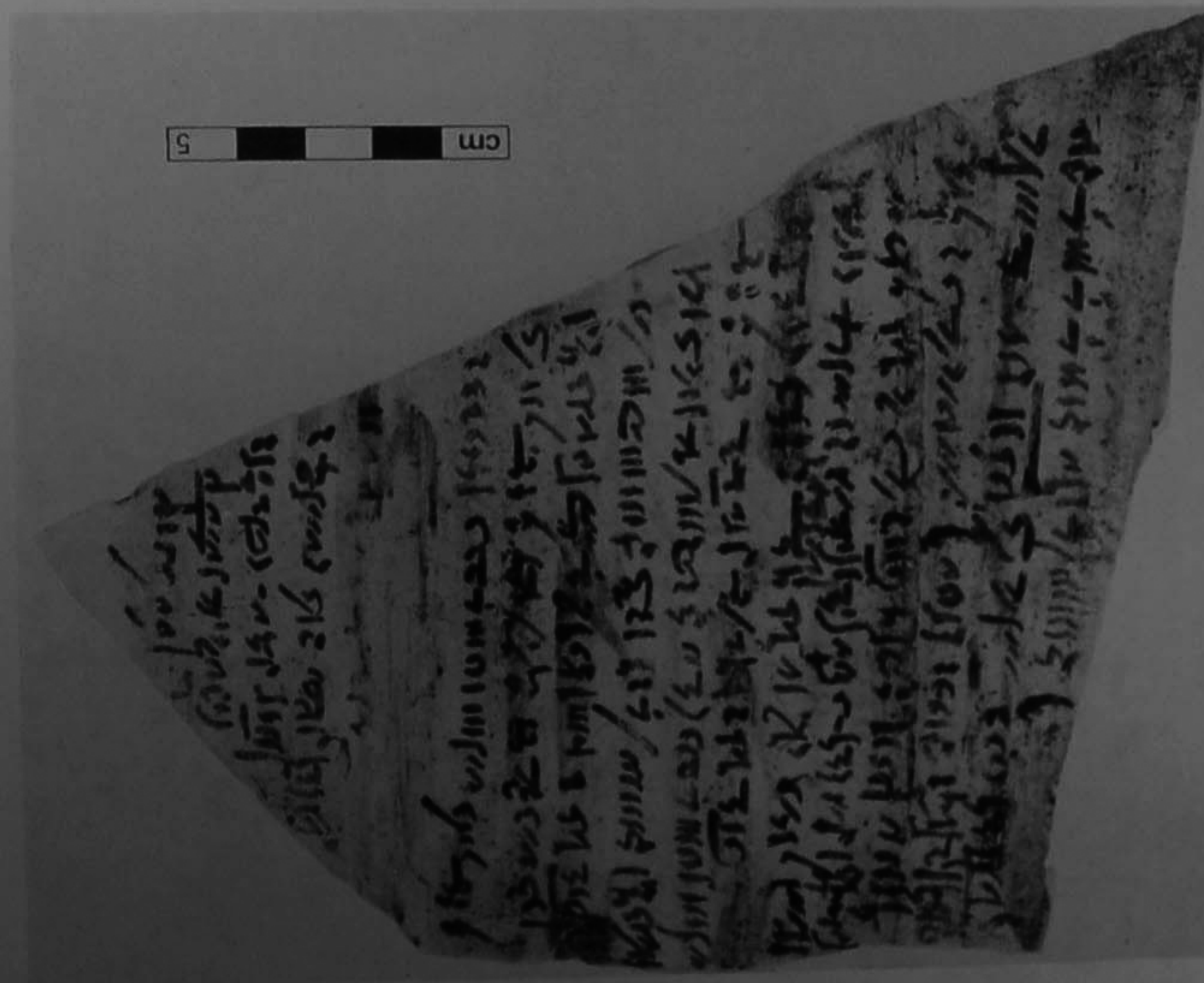
a, allée des sphinx, n, hémicycle grec, i, chapelle de Nectanébo, k, dromos orné de statues grecques symboliques, l, chapelle égyptienne
m, chapelle grecque. (Vue prise de l'entrée. s, des hypogées. — Repère du Plan I.)

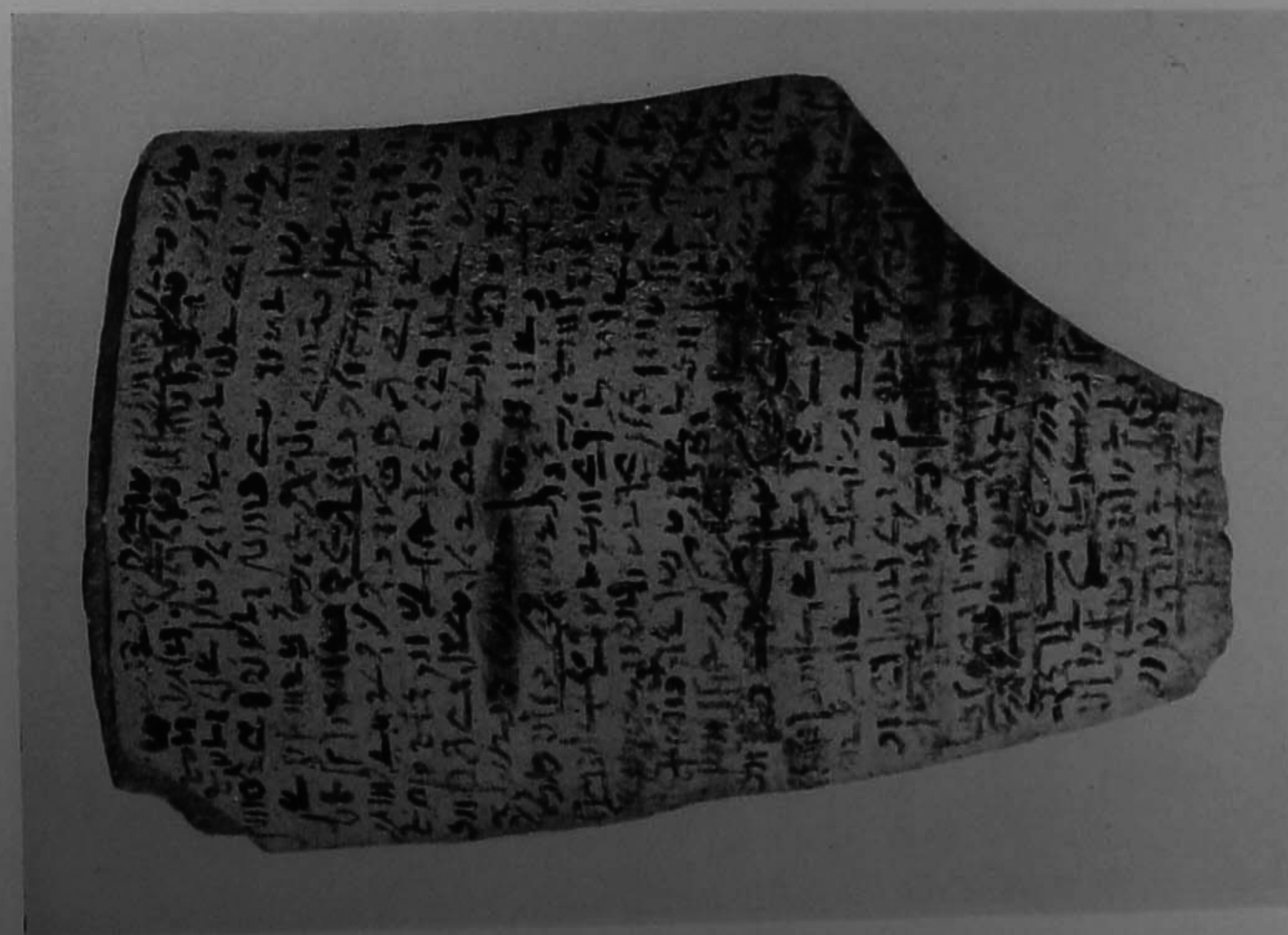
The dromos of the Serapeum
(drawing by Barbot)



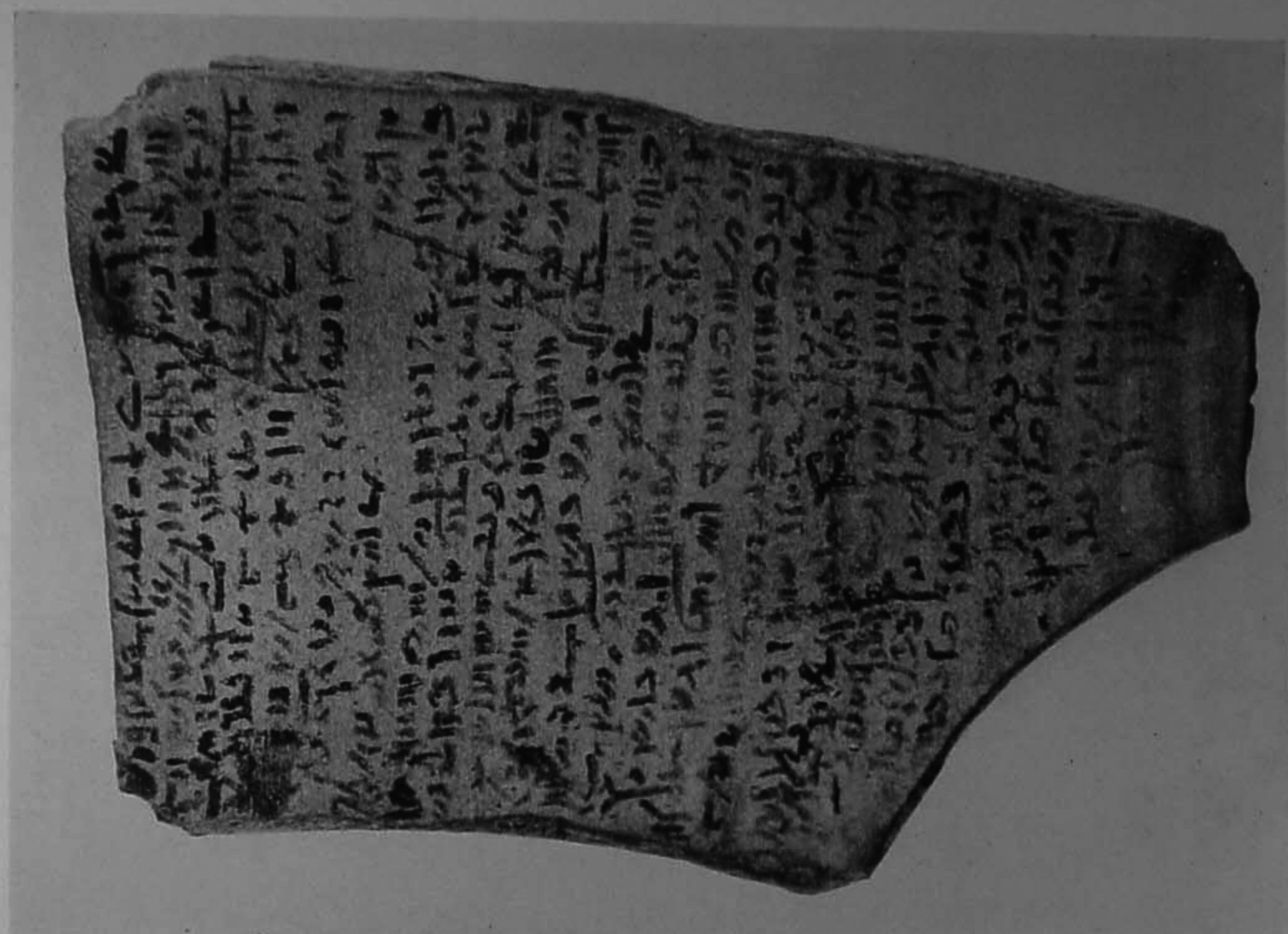
Text 1 (pp. 7 ff.)

[illegible]





Text 3 R^o (pp. 20 ff.)



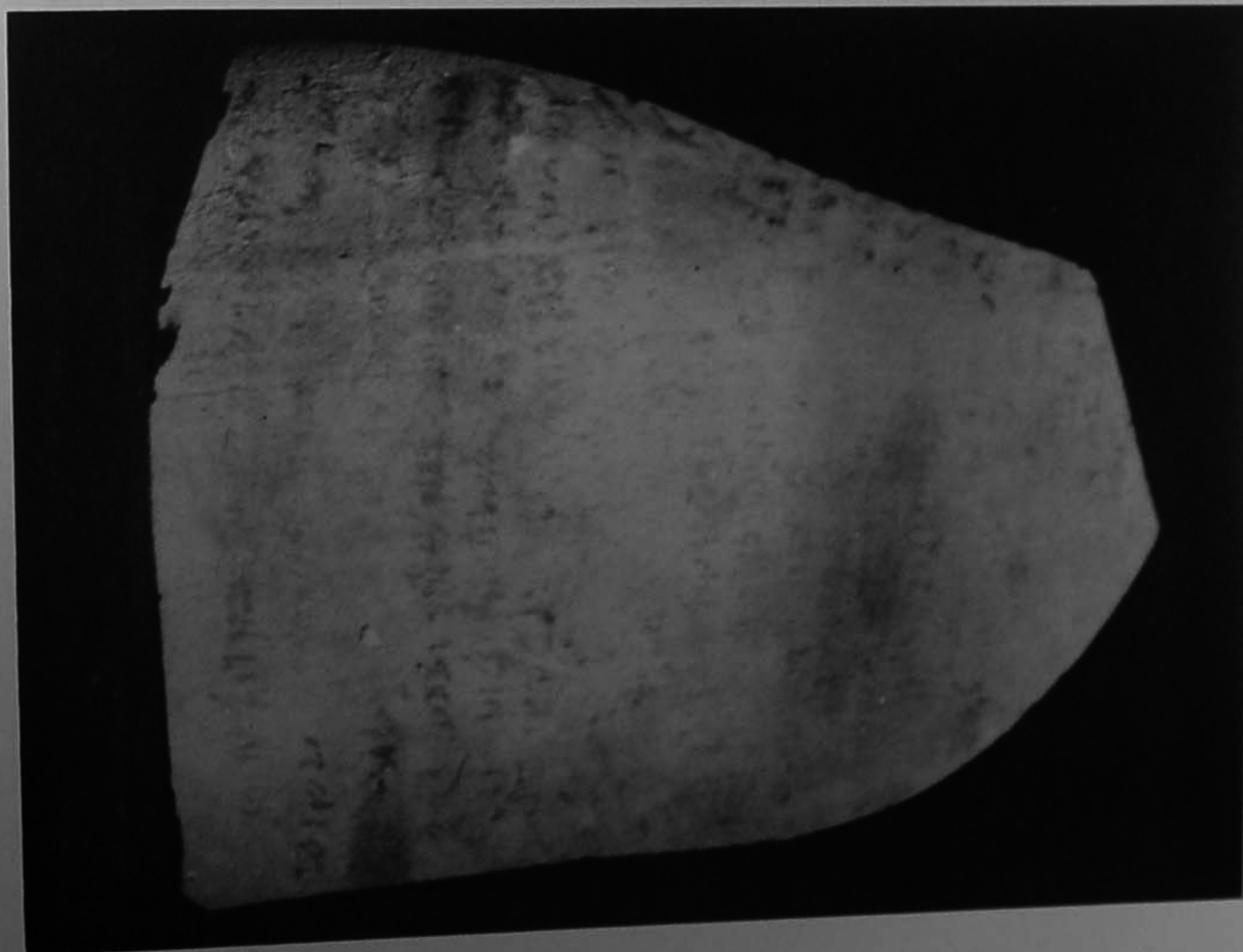
Text 3 V^o (pp. 20 ff.)

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Text 4 V^o (pp. 29 ff.)



Text 4 R^o (pp. 29 ff.)

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Text 5 (pp. 32 ff.)



Greek Fragment (p. 1)



Text 5 (pp. 32 ff.)



Text 5A (pp. 32 ff.)

[illegible]

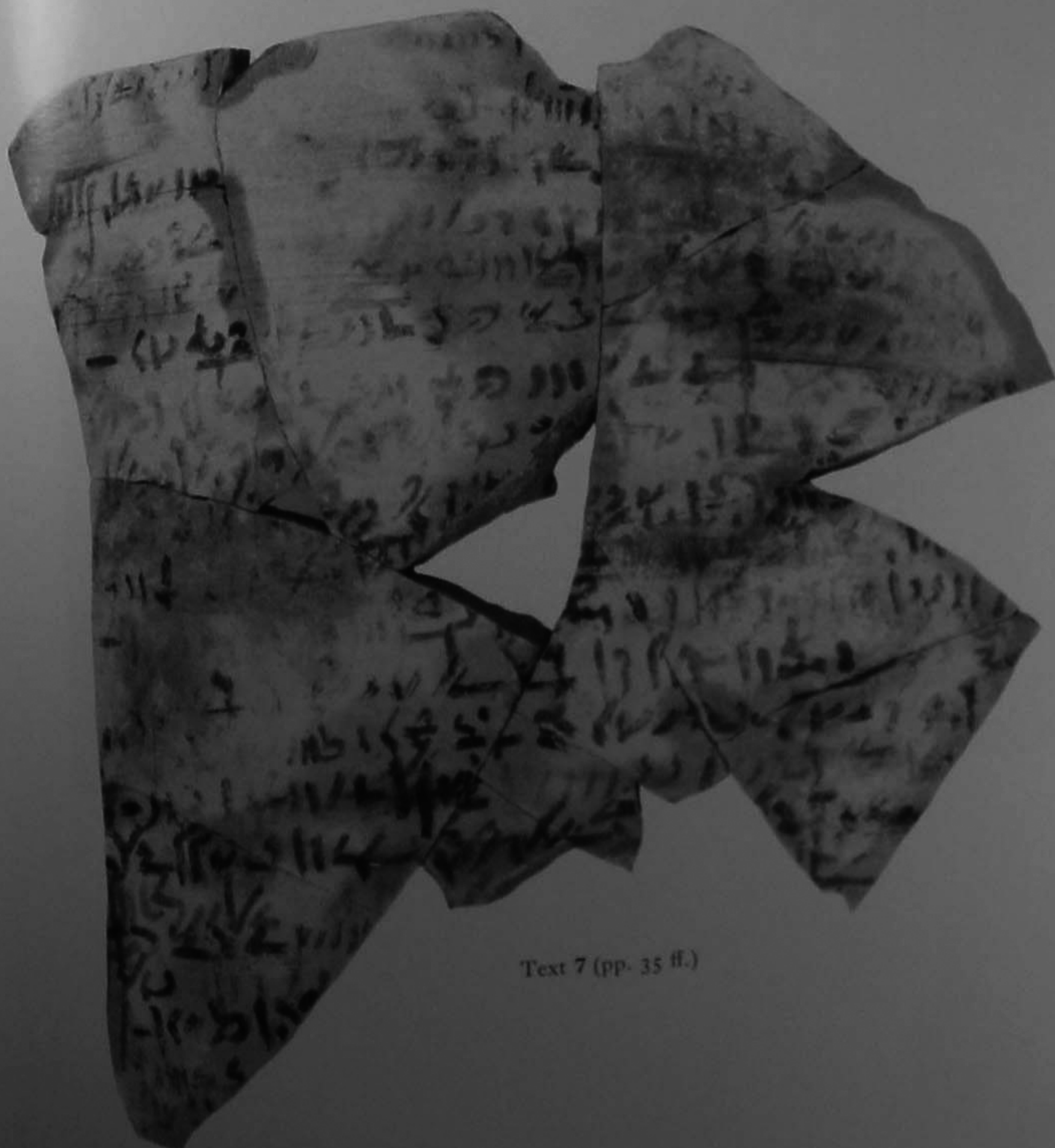
Text 5 (pp. 32 ff.)

The image shows a dark, textured surface with two irregular, light-colored patches. The patches contain handwritten text in a stylized, possibly Hebrew or Arabic, script. The text is written in a cursive, flowing manner. The background is dark and grainy.

Text 5A (pp. 32 ff.)



Text 6 V^o (p. 34 f.)



Text 7 (pp. 35 ff.)



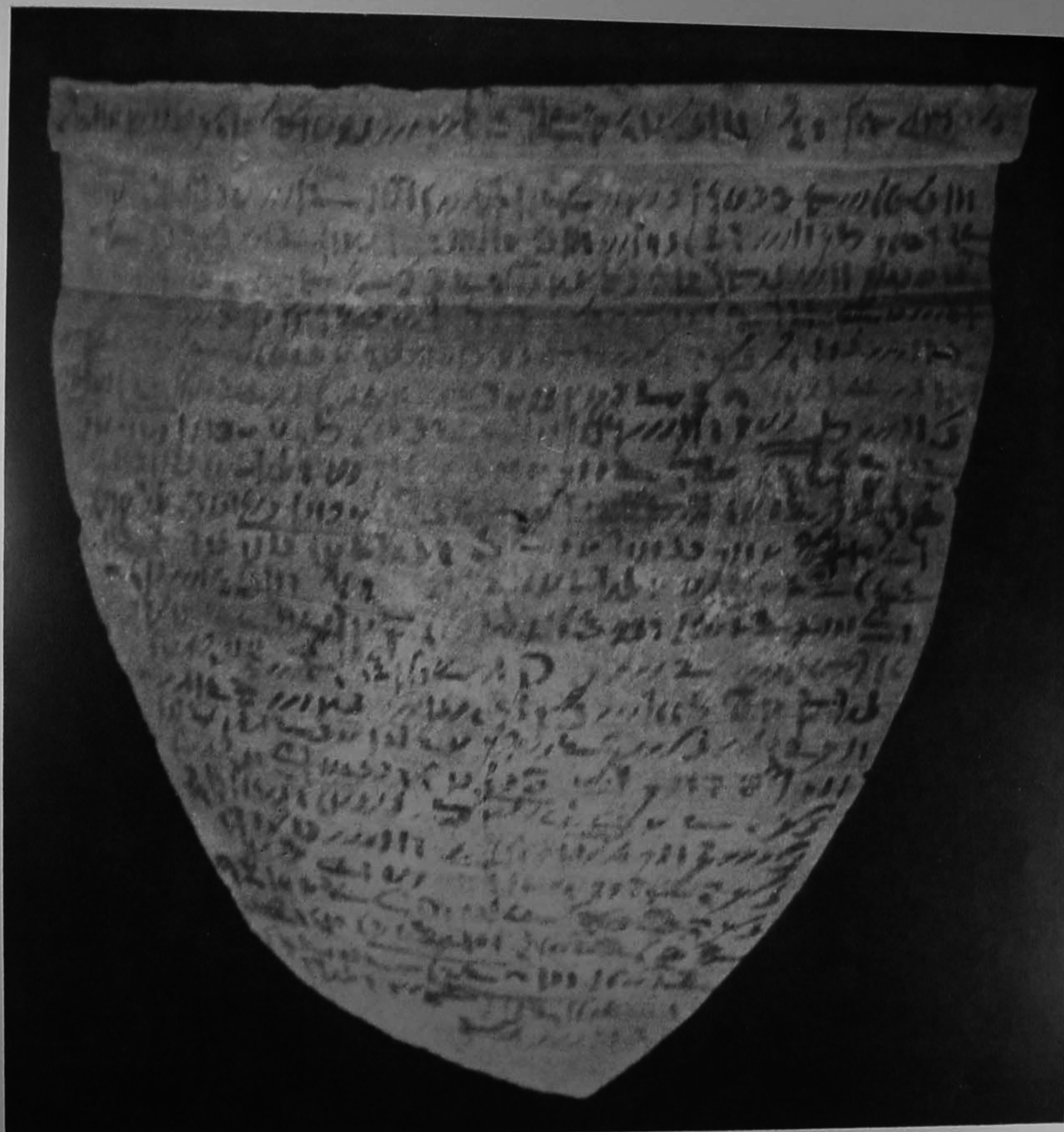
Text 7A (p. 38)

[illegible]Text 6 V^o (p. 34 f.)

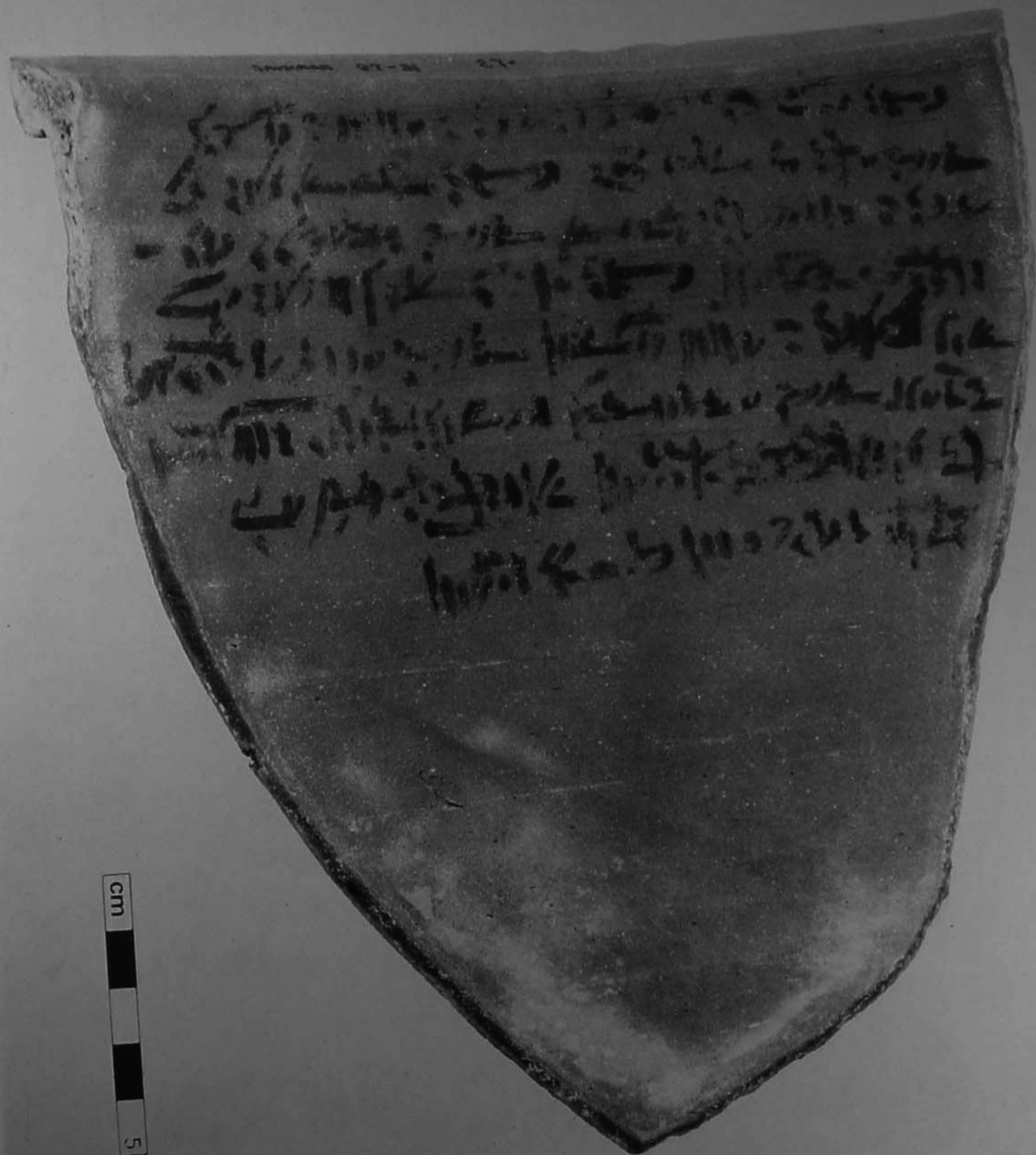
Handwritten notes on a diamond-shaped card:

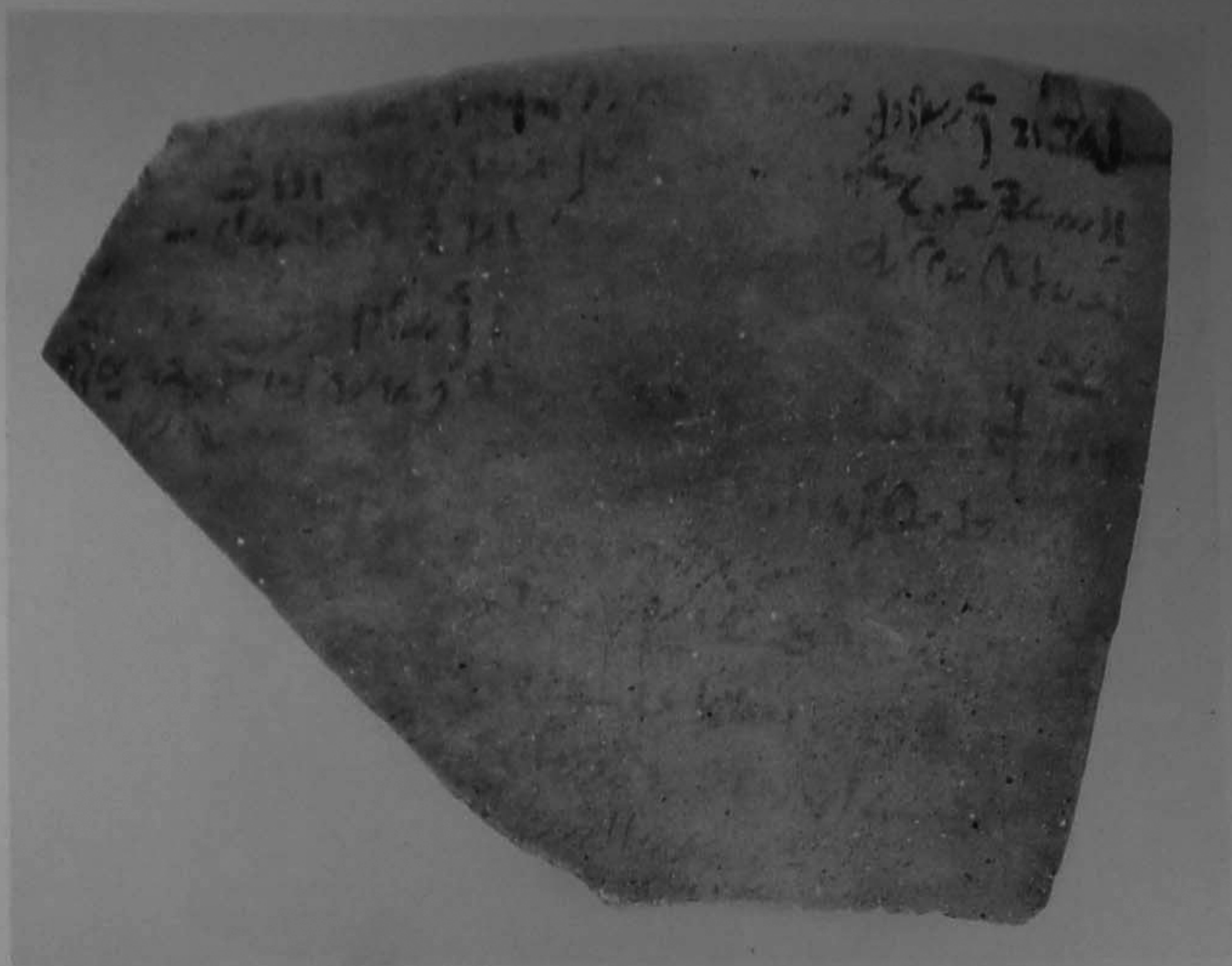
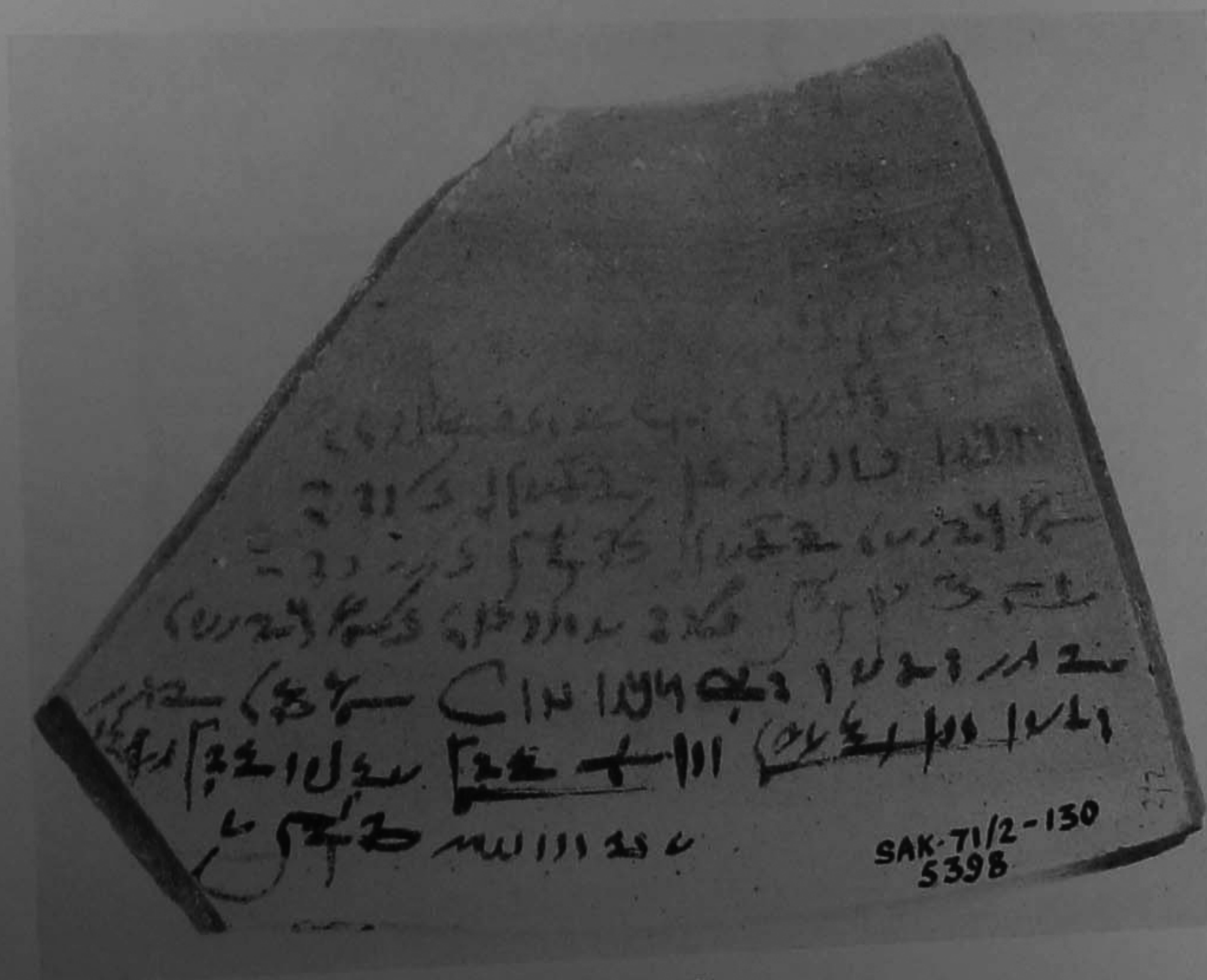
- Top right: $\gamma \sim 11 \underline{5}$
- Below top right: 112123
- Below that: 13
- Left side: 111
- Below left side: $12216-$
- Bottom left: $5-211$
- Bottom center: $)$

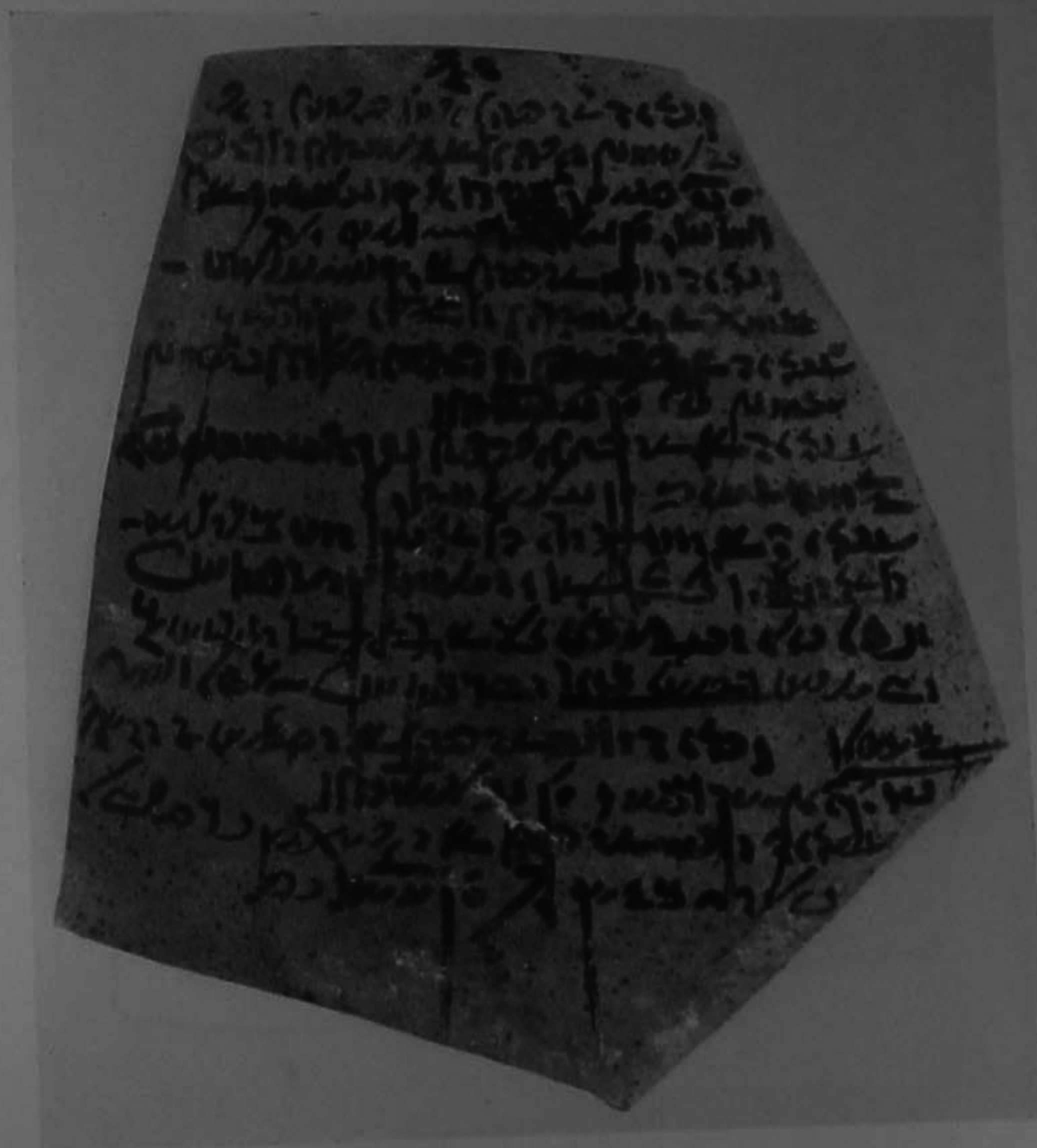
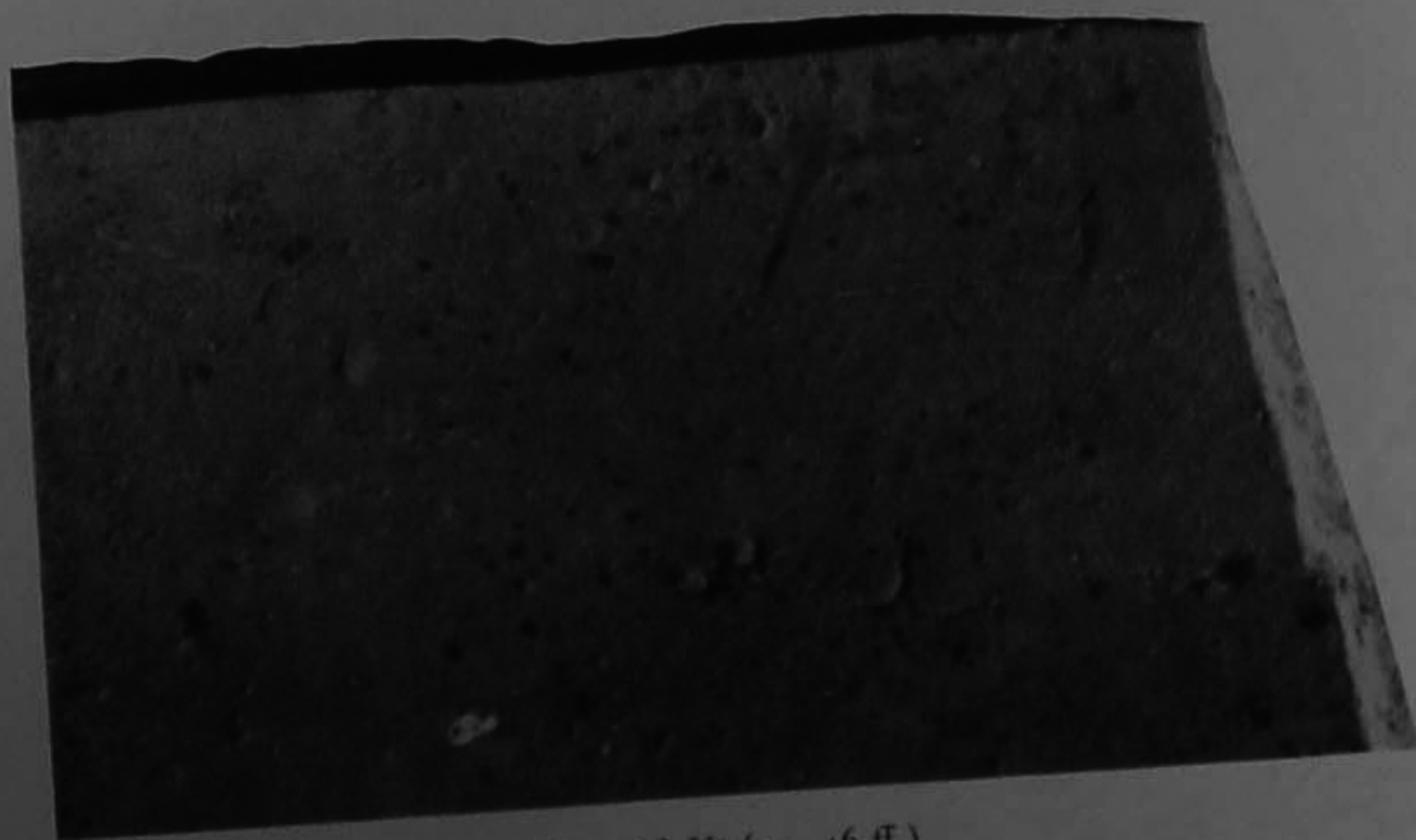
Text 6 R^o (p. 34 f.)

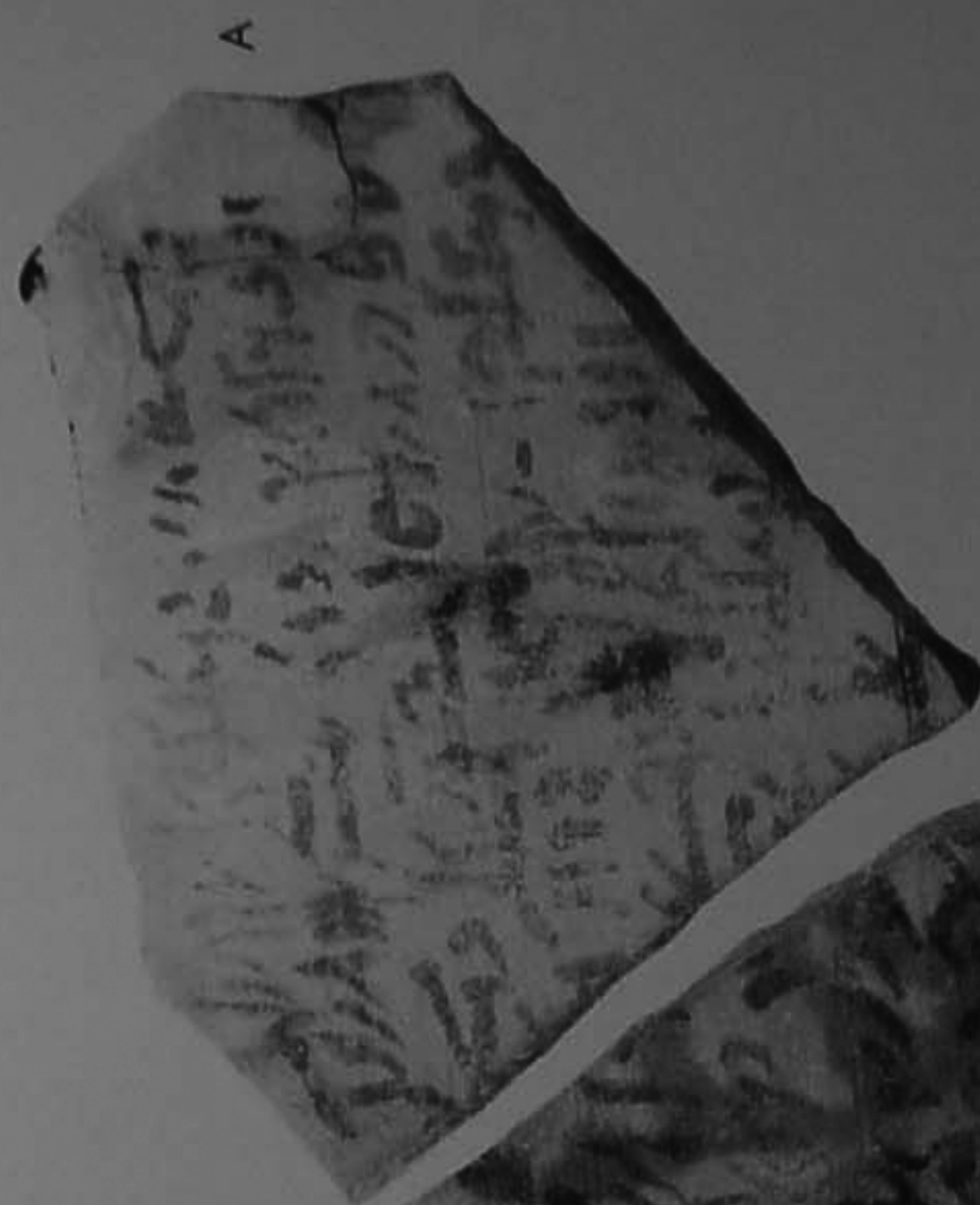
Text 8 R^o (pp. 38 ff.)

1. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 2. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 3. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 4. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 5. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 6. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 7. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 8. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 9. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 10. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 11. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 12. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 13. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 14. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 15. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 16. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 17. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 18. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 19. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 20. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 21. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 22. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 23. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 24. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל
 25. וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל

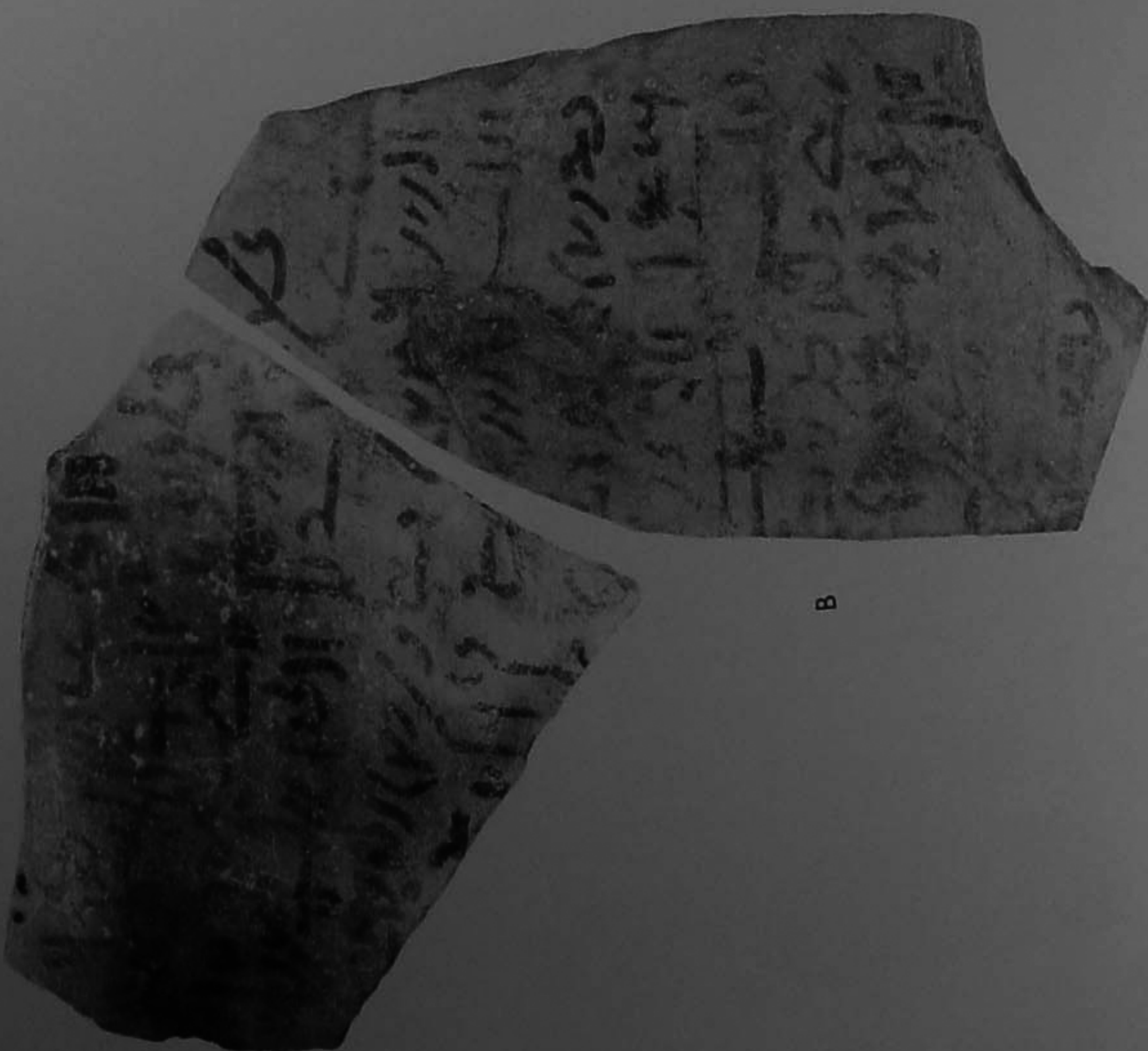
Text 8 V^o (pp. 38 ff.)

Text 9 R^o (pp. 44 ff.)Text 9 V^o (pp. 44 ff.)

Text 10 R^o (pp. 46 ff.)Text 10 V^o (pp. 46 ff.)



Text 11 V° (pp. 49 ff.)

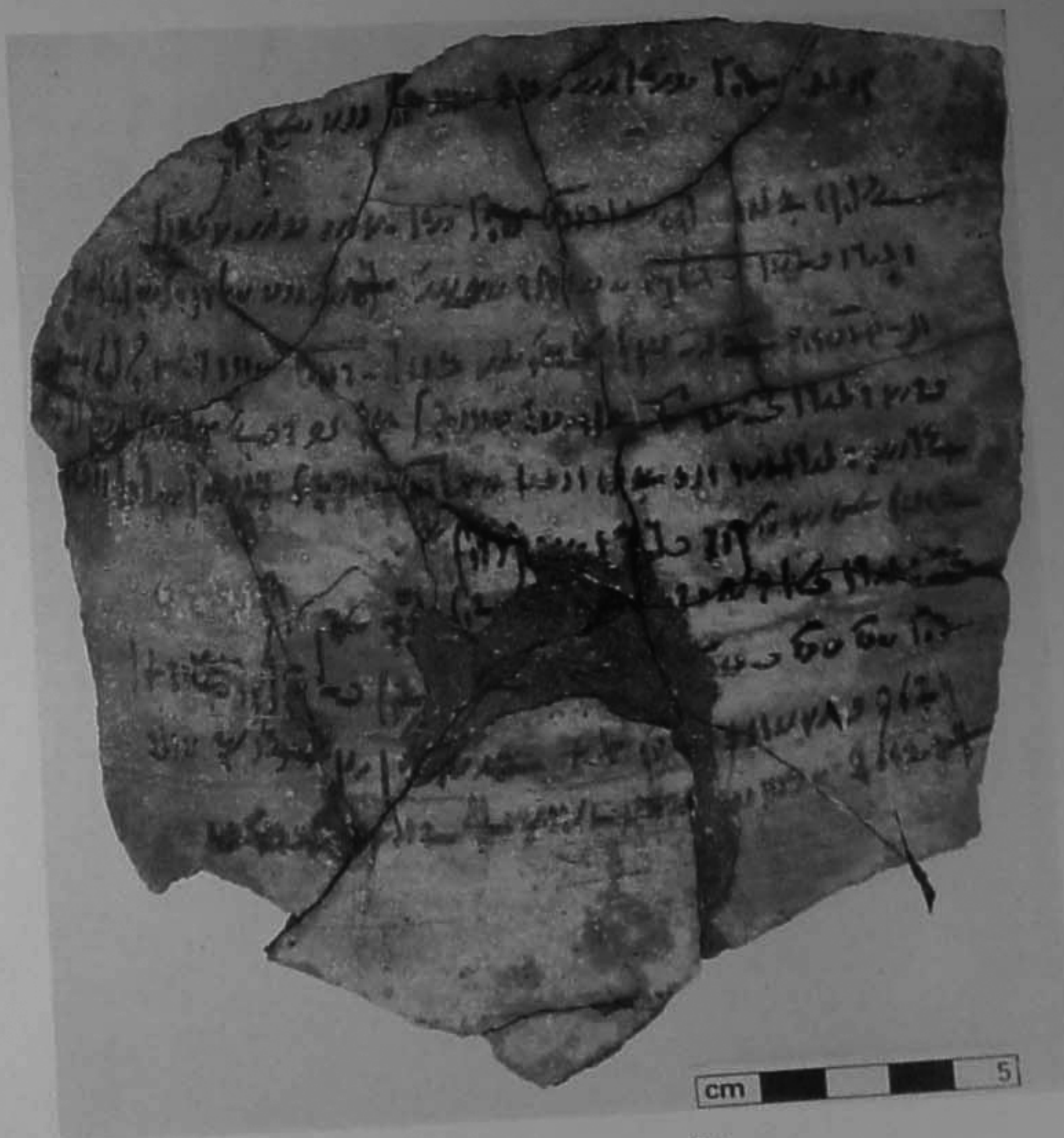


Text 11 R° (pp. 49 ff.)



Text 11 R^o (pp. 49 ff.)

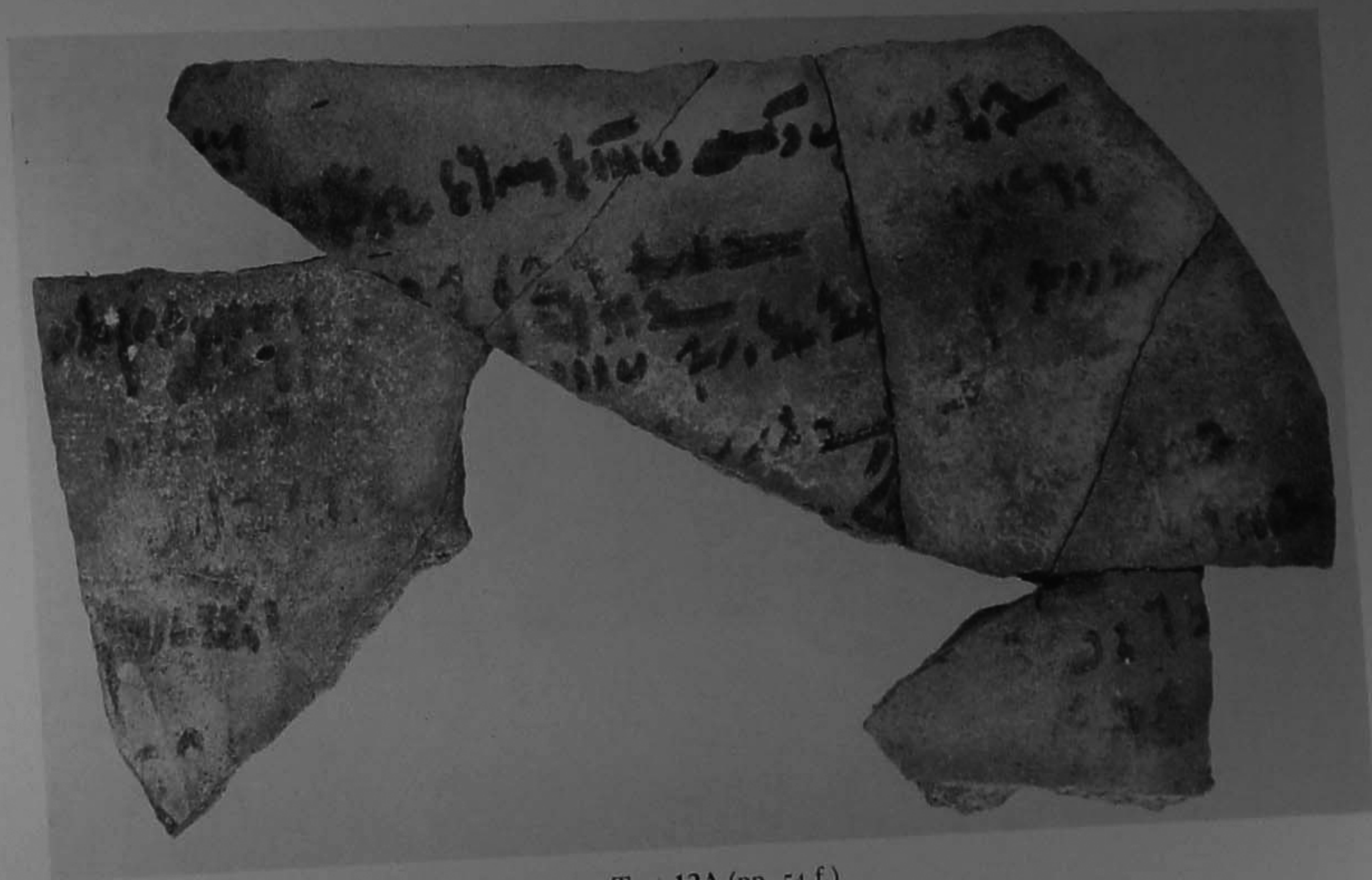
Text 11 V^o (pp. 49 ff.)



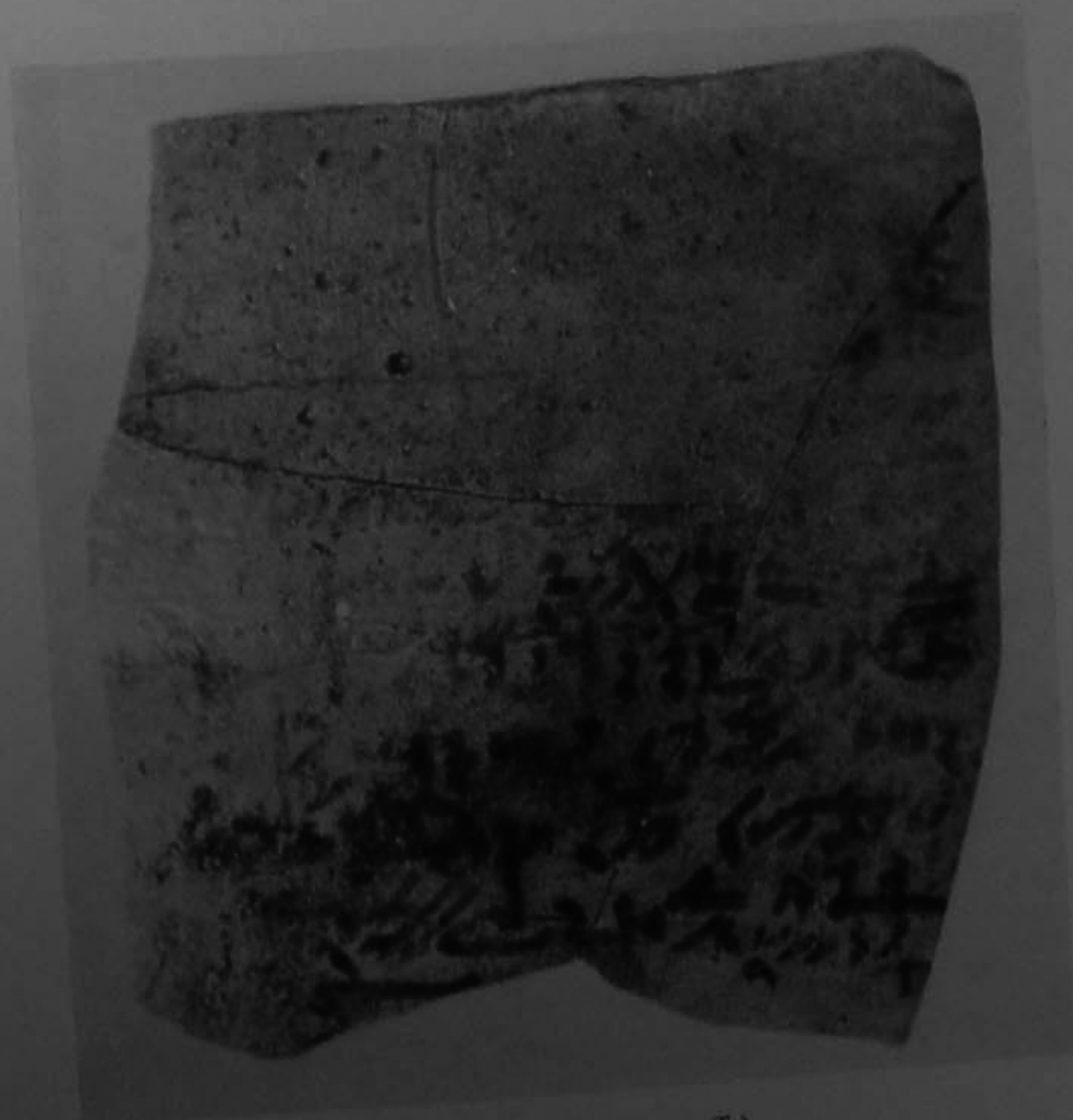
Text 12 R^o (pp. 51 ff.)



Text 12 V^o (pp. 51 ff.)



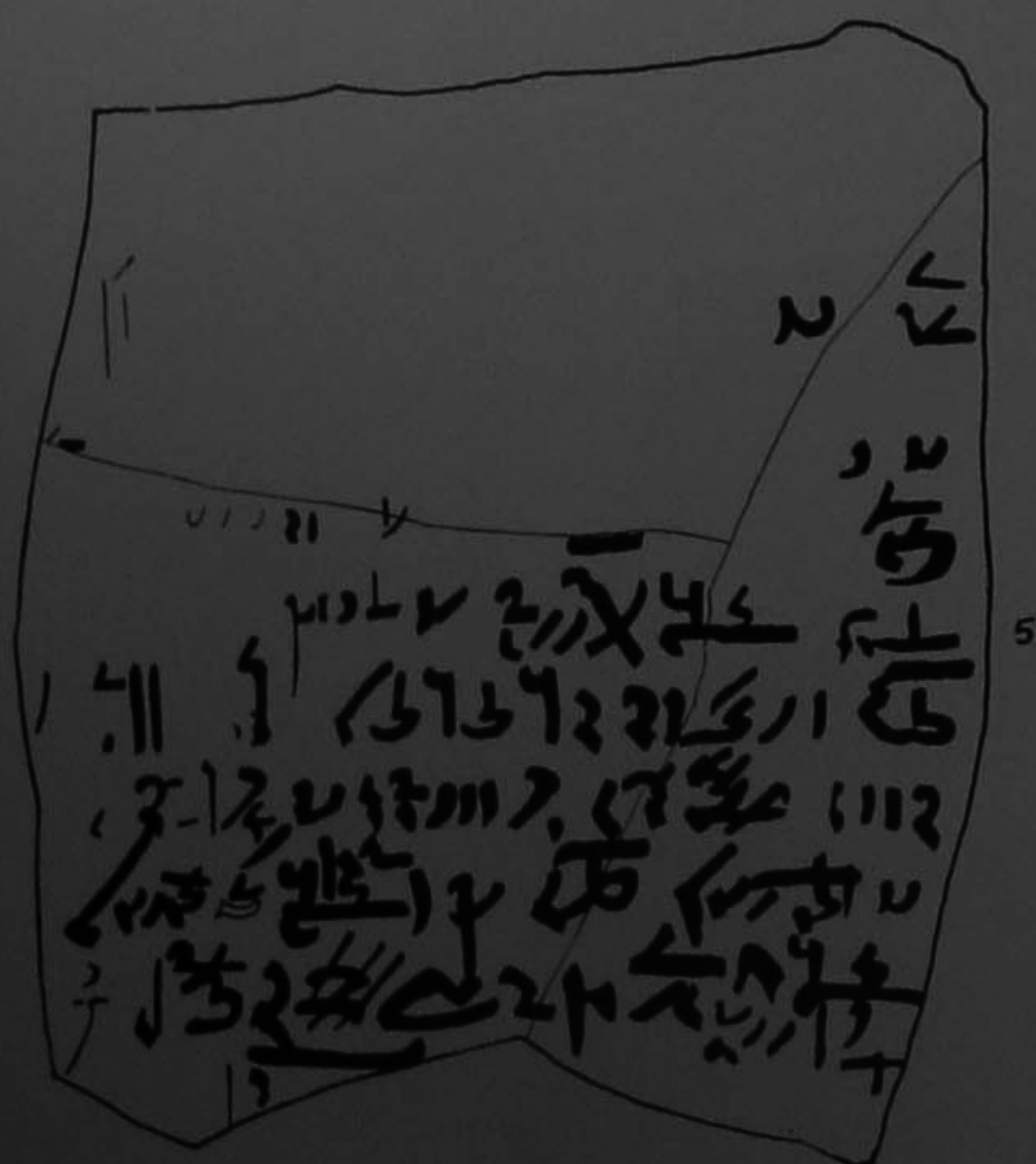
Text 12A (pp. 54 f.)



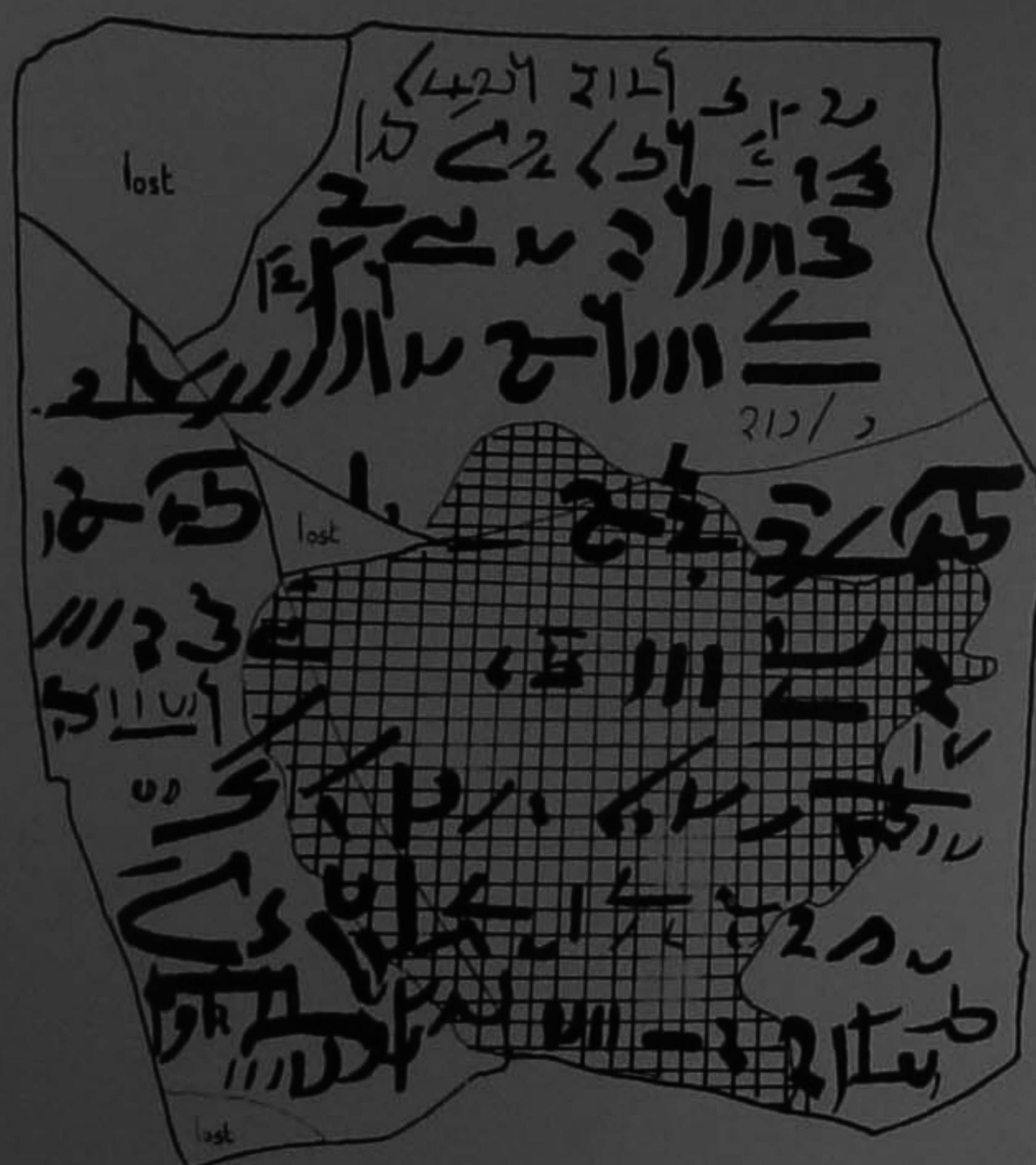
Text 14 R^o (pp. 57 ff.)



Text 14 V^o (pp. 57 ff.)



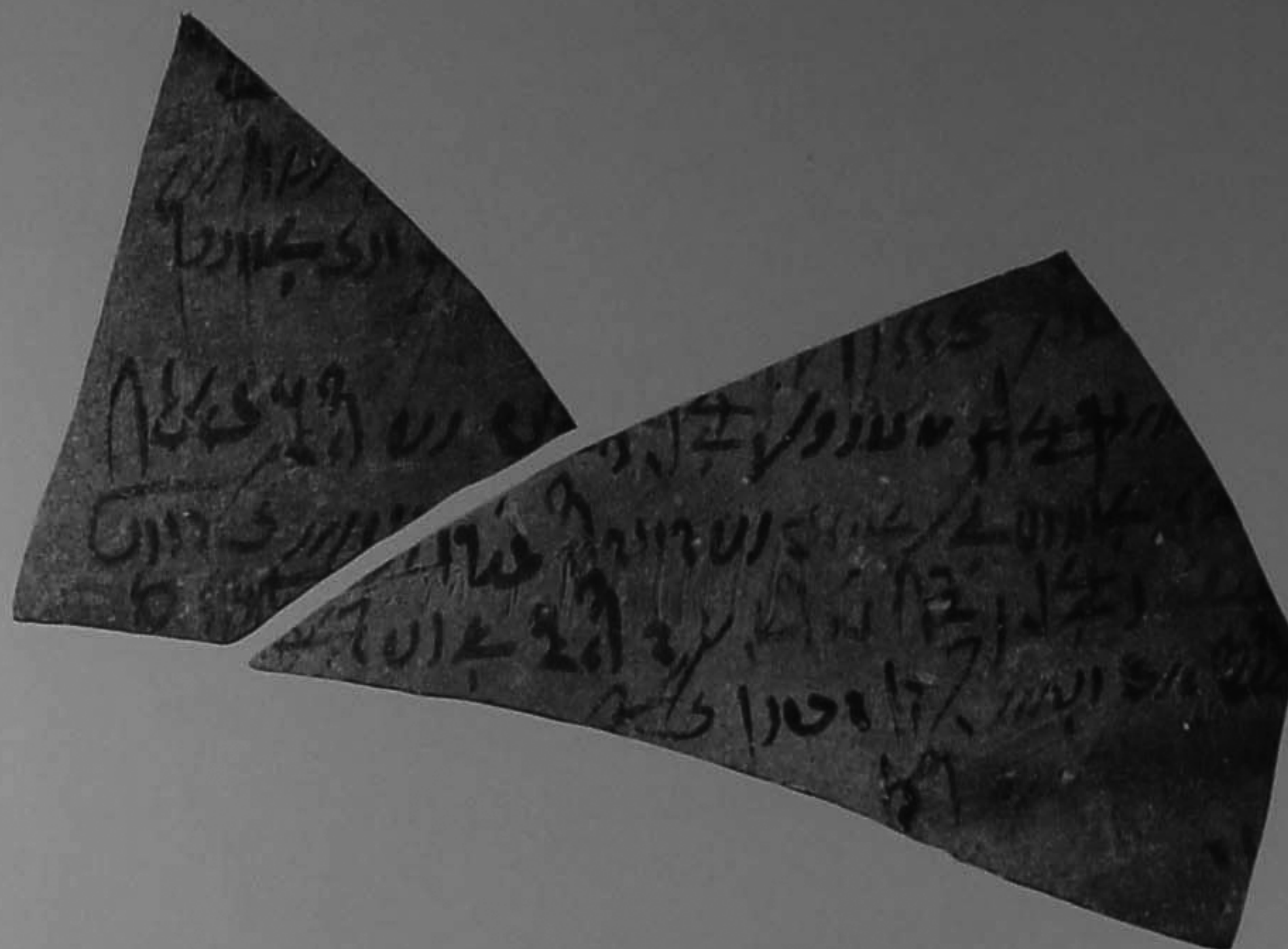
Text 14 R^o (pp. 57 ff.)



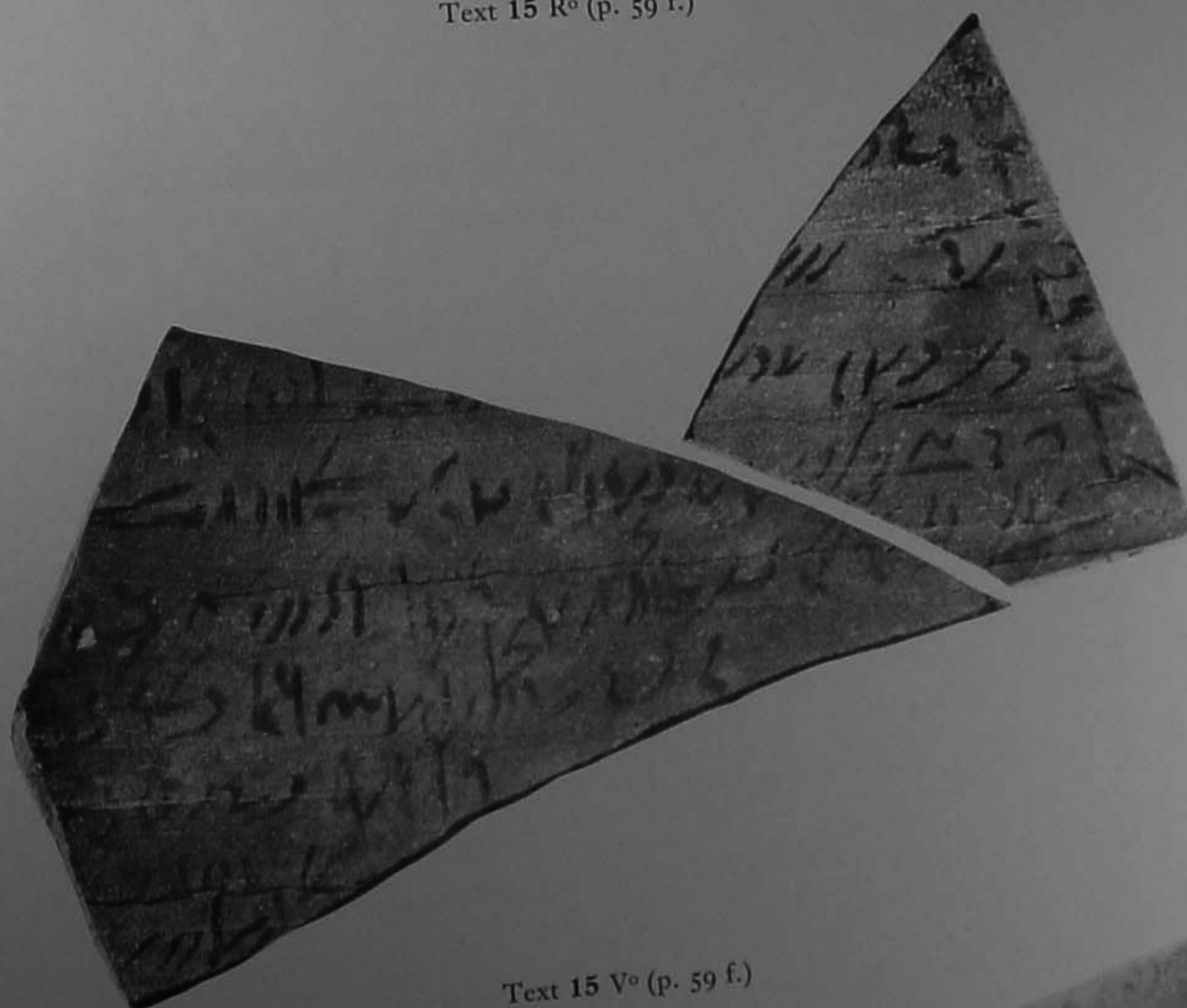
Text 14 V^o (pp. 57 ff.)

This image shows a fragment of an ancient Hebrew manuscript. The text is written in a cursive script, characteristic of medieval Hebrew. The fragment is irregularly shaped, with a large diagonal crack running from the upper left towards the lower right. The text is arranged in several lines, though some are obscured by the crack and the fragment's edges. The ink is dark, and the parchment or paper is aged and discolored. The fragment is placed on a plain, light-colored background.

Text 13 (pp. 55 ff.)



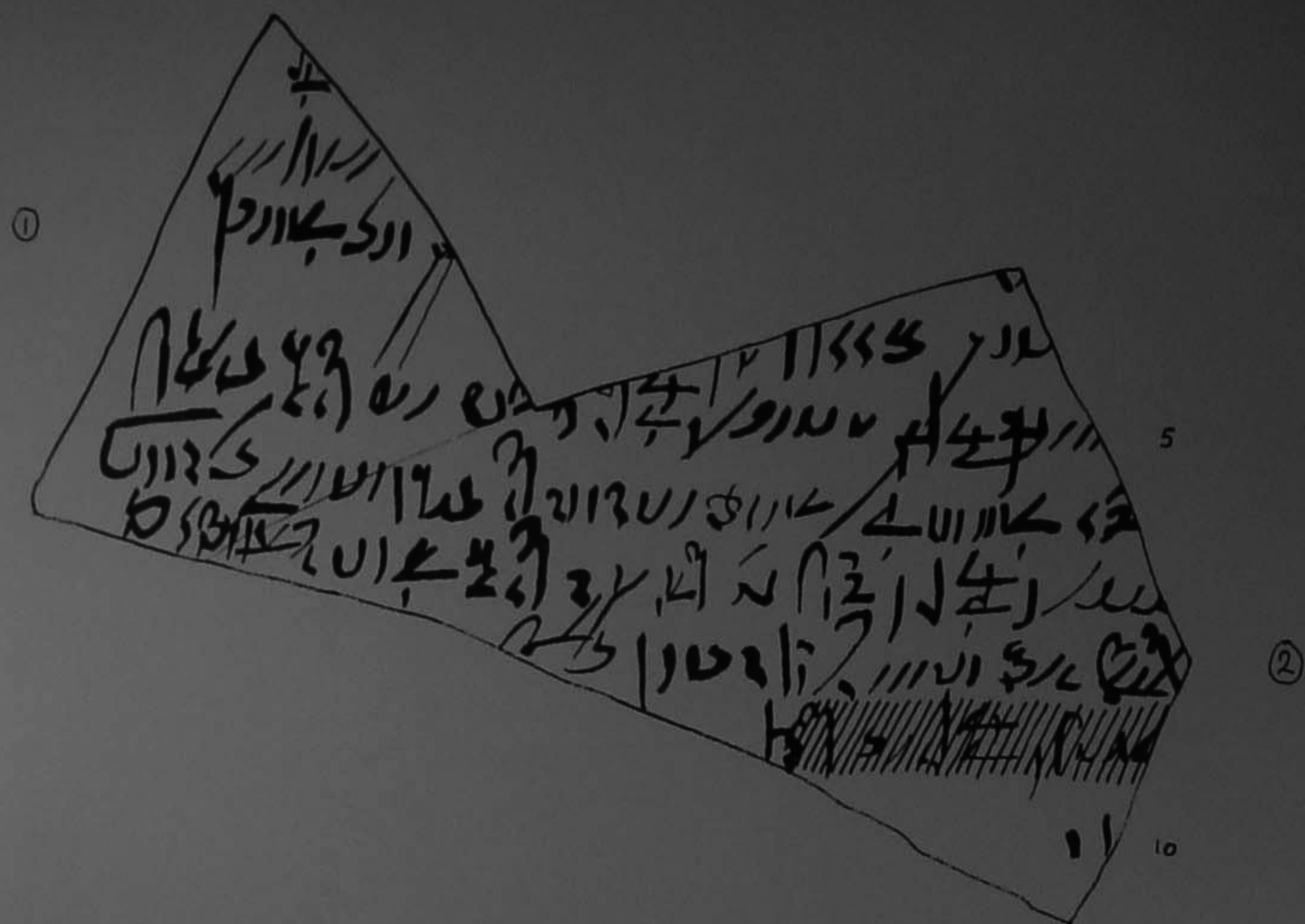
Text 15 R^o (p. 59 f.)



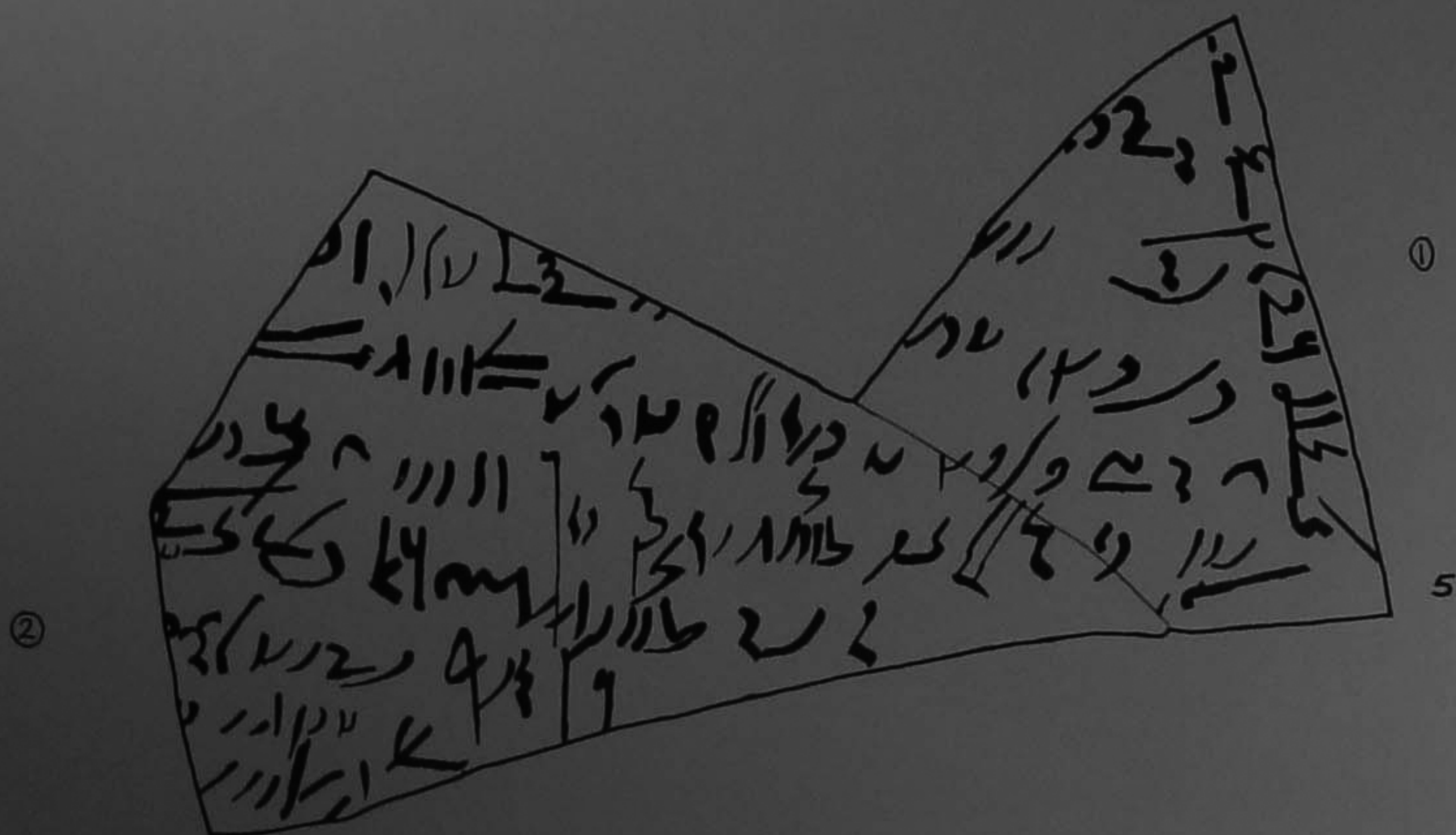
Text 15 V^o (p. 59 f.)



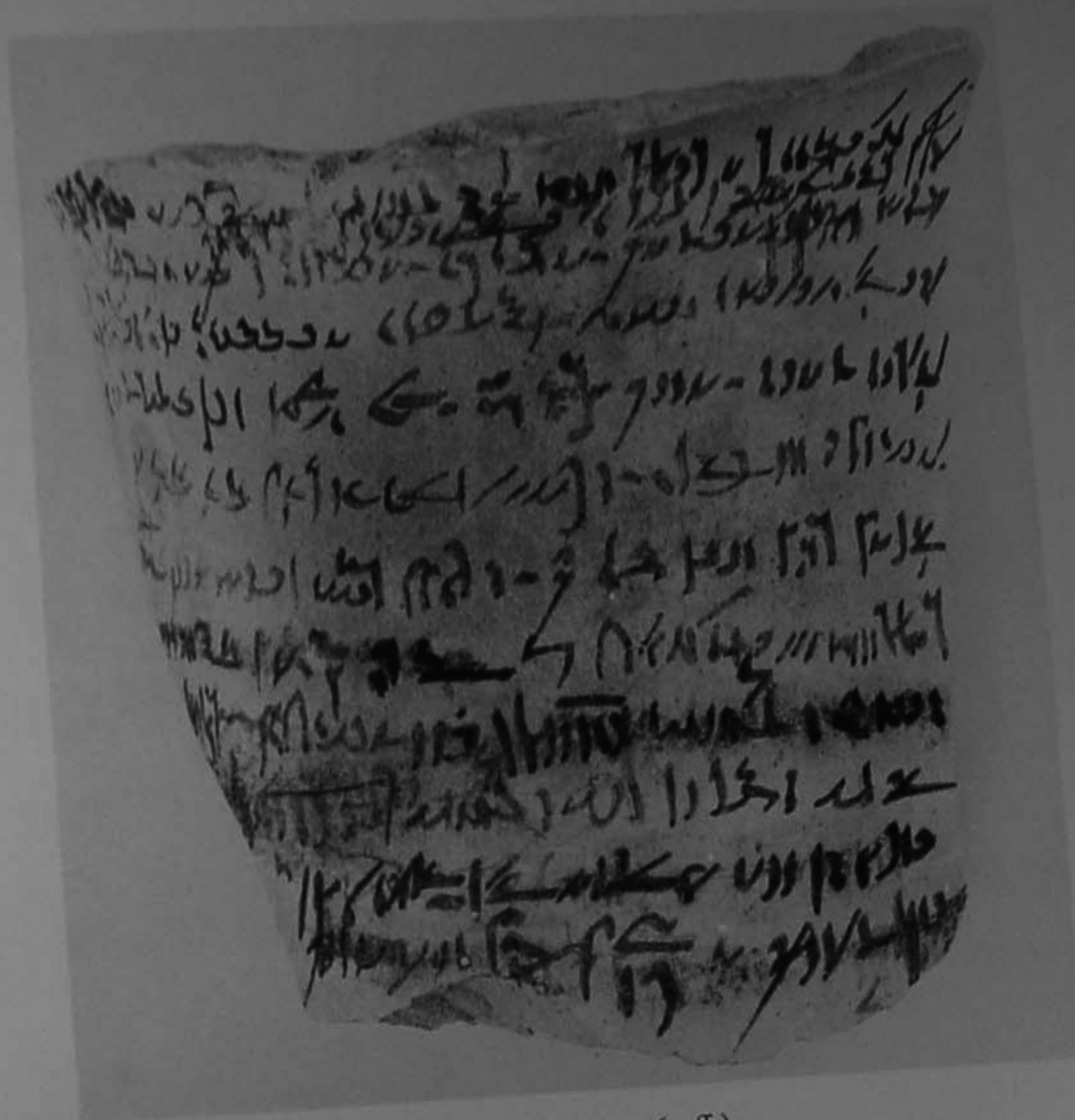
Text 15A (p. 60 f.)



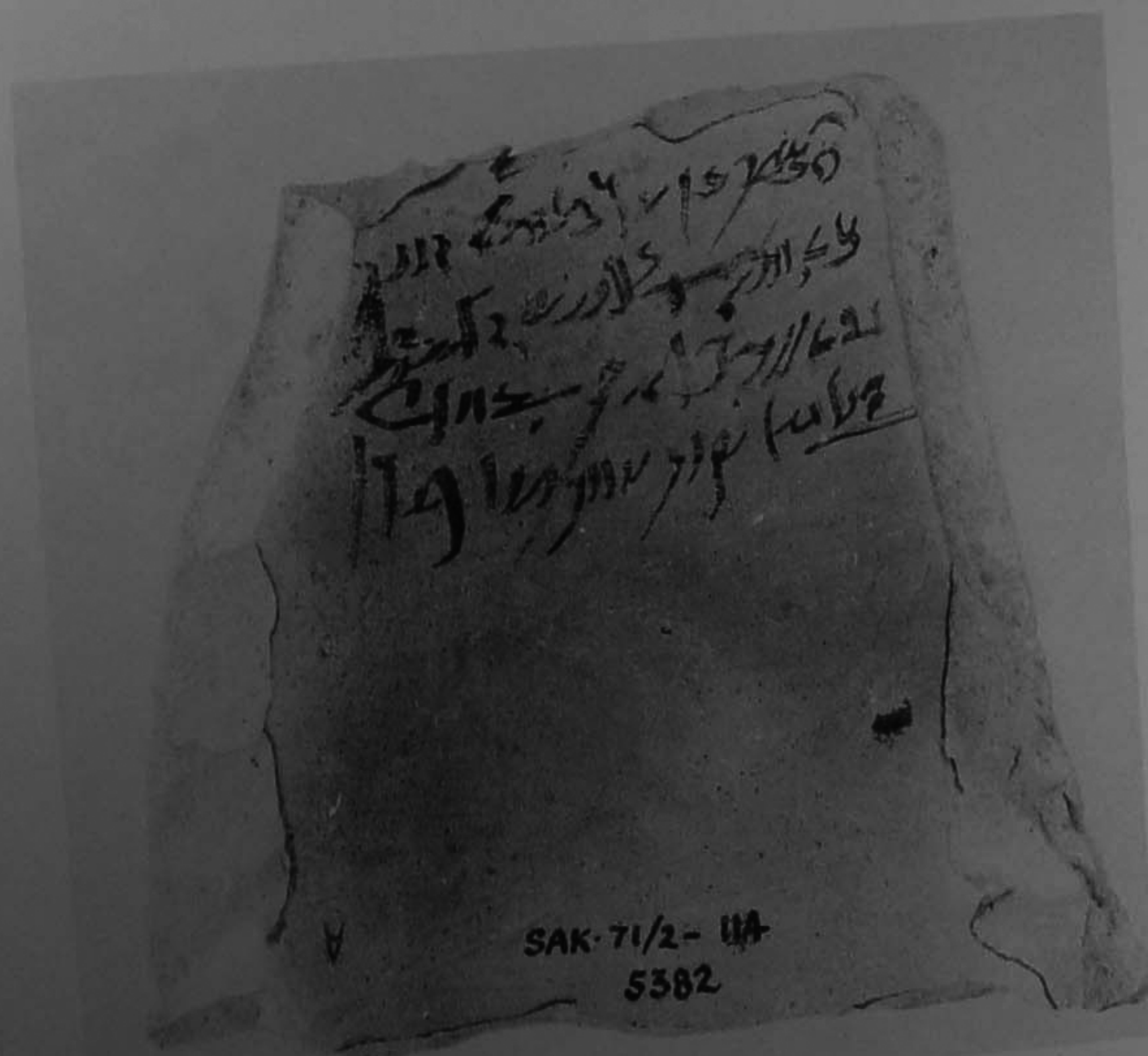
Text 15 R° (p. 59 f.)



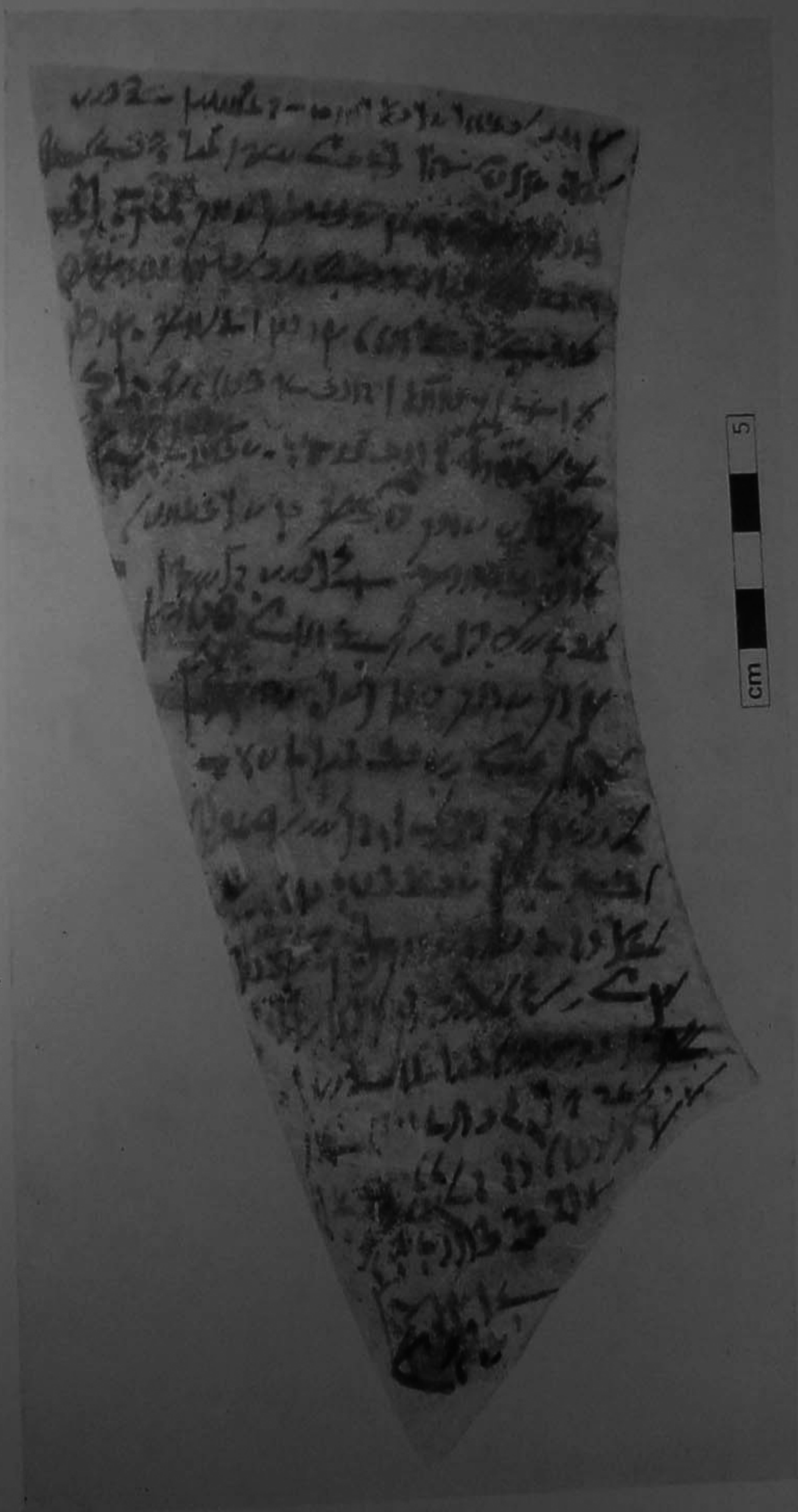
Text 15 V° (p. 59 f.)



Text 16 R° (pp. 61 ff.)

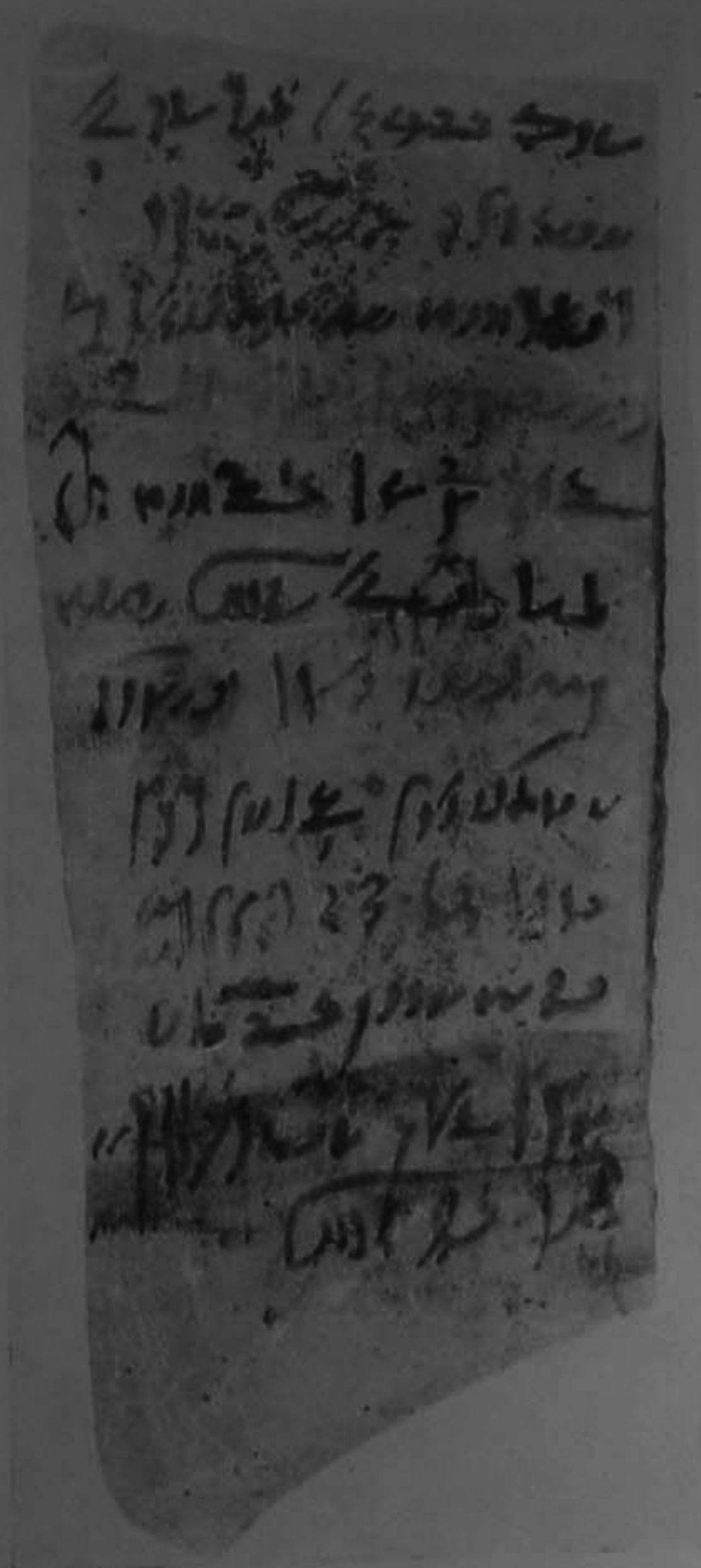


Text 16 V° (pp. 61 ff.)



Text 17 (pp. 63 ff.)

(The arrows indicate the join described on p. 63)



Text 17A (pp. 63 ff.)

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript or letter, written on a piece of parchment or paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect than others, possibly indicating a mix of languages or a specific regional dialect. The handwriting is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the cursive style and the condition of the document.

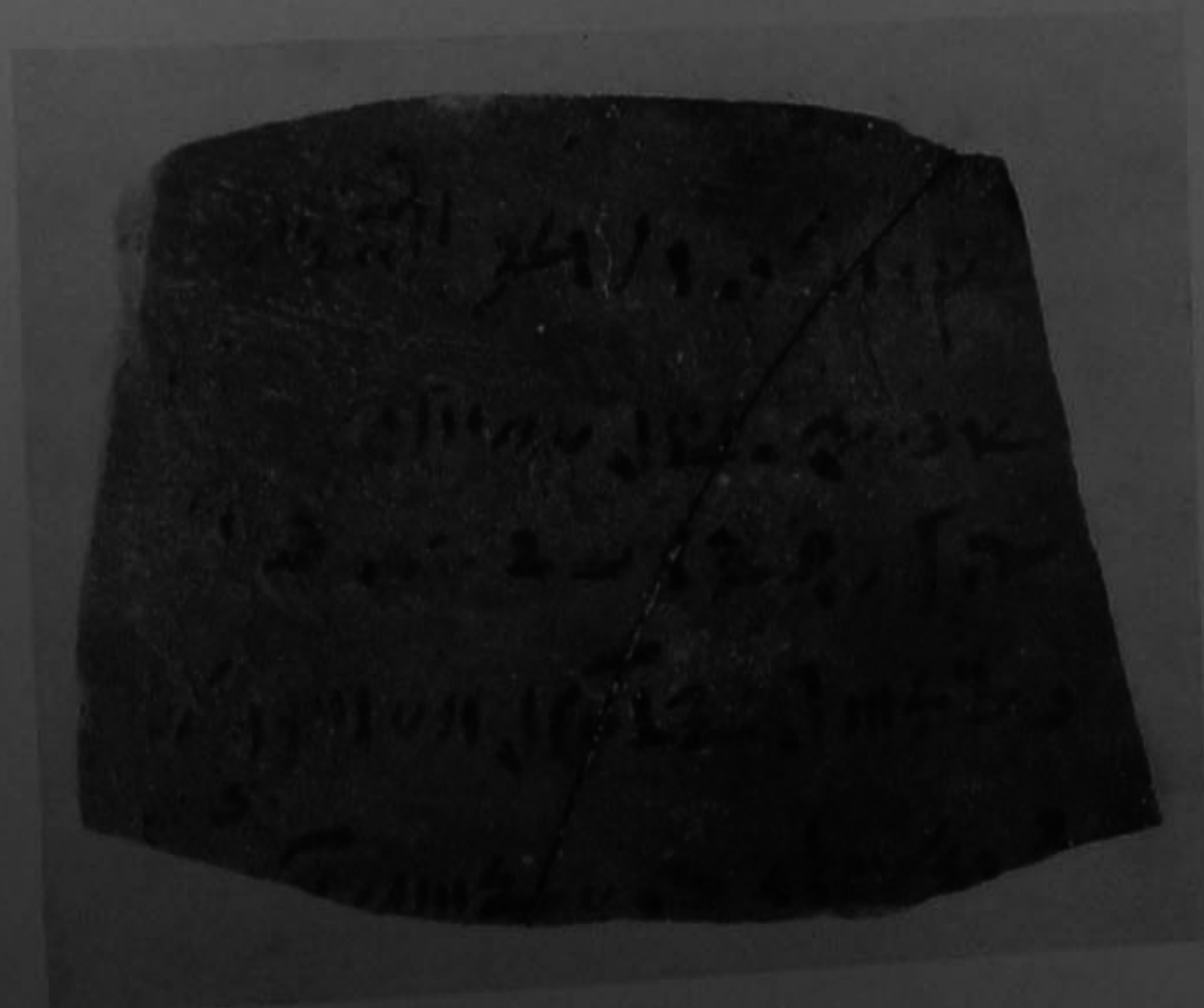
5380
 SAK-71/2-112
 The text on this fragment is written in a cursive script, likely from a medieval manuscript. It is arranged in several lines, with some text appearing to be written in a different hand or ink, possibly indicating a correction or a different section. The fragment is damaged, with significant portions missing from the top and right edges.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Arabic script, likely from a manuscript. The ink is dark and the paper shows signs of age and wear.]

5384
 SAK-71/2-116



Text 20 (p. 80 f.)



Text 24A (p. 90 f.)



Text 24B (p. 90 f.)

[illegible]

Text 20 (p. 80 f.)

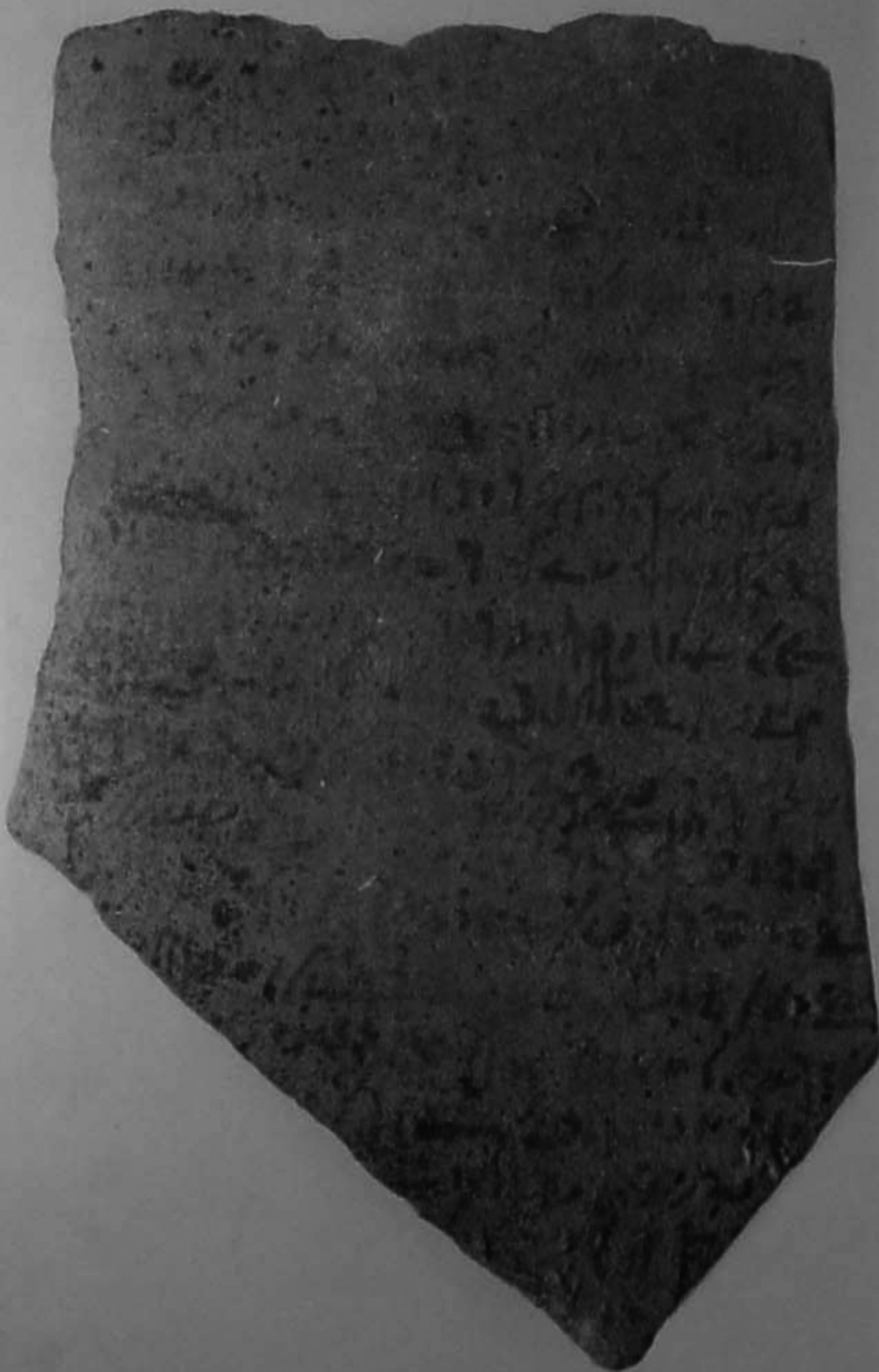
אין שום דבר אלא אלהים
אשר הוא אחד
אשר אין לו שותף
אשר אין לו תחילת
אשר אין לו סוף

The image shows a piece of paper with handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Hebrew or Yiddish. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be crossed out or corrected. The paper is slightly crumpled and has a dark border around it.

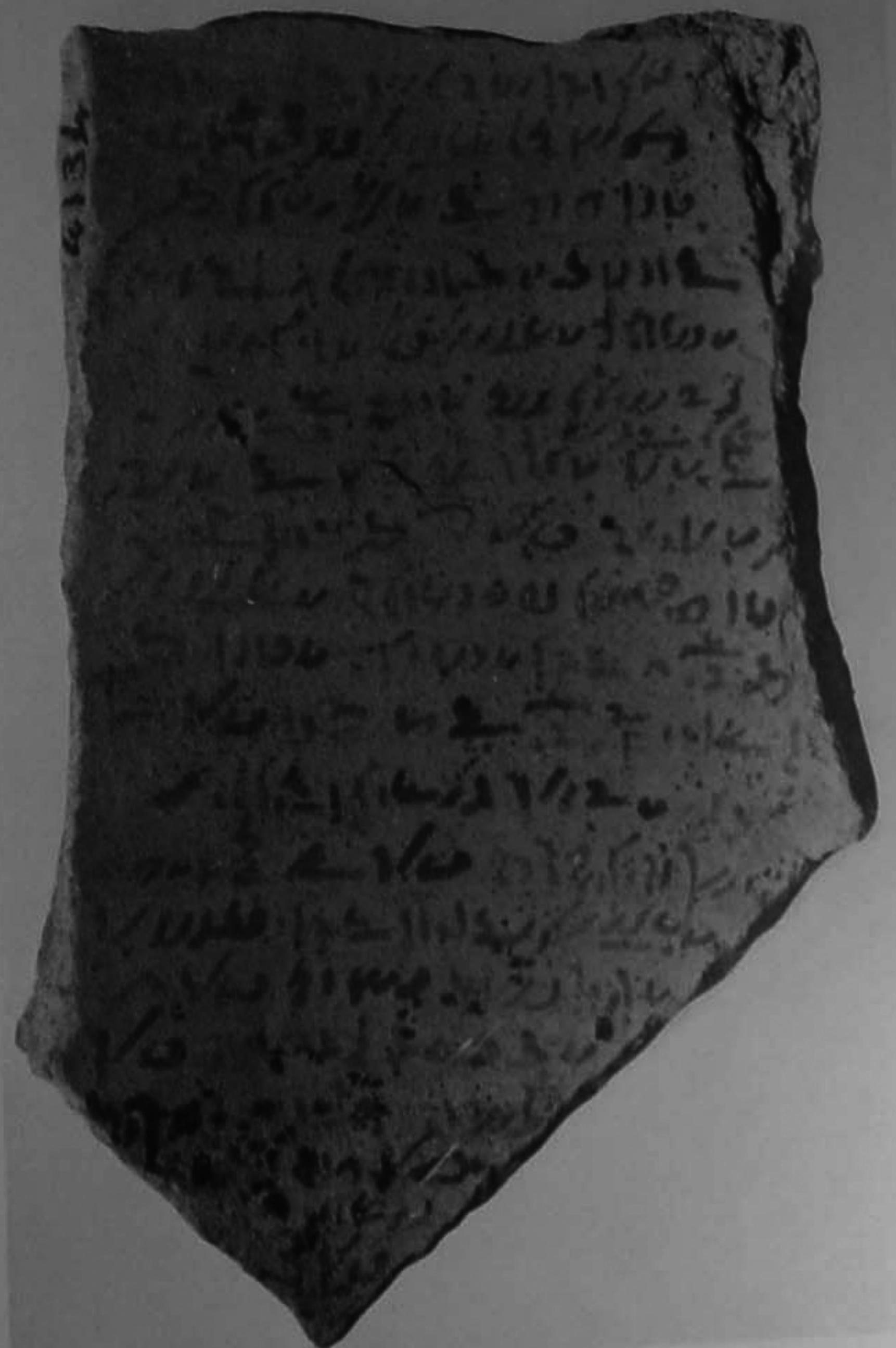
The visible text includes:

- Line 1: ~~משה~~ (Moses)
- Line 2: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 3: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 4: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 5: ~~אברהם~~ (Abraham)
- Line 6: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 7: ~~ישראל~~ (Israel)
- Line 8: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 9: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 10: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 11: ~~יצחק~~ (Isaac)
- Line 12: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 13: ~~רachel~~ (Rachel)
- Line 14: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 15: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 16: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 17: ~~לוי~~ (Levi)
- Line 18: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 19: ~~יהודה~~ (Judah)
- Line 20: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 21: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 22: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 23: ~~דוד~~ (David)
- Line 24: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 25: ~~שלמה~~ (Solomon)
- Line 26: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 27: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 28: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 29: ~~דוד~~ (David)
- Line 30: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 31: ~~יהושפט~~ (Jehoshaphat)
- Line 32: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 33: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 34: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 35: ~~יהושפט~~ (Jehoshaphat)
- Line 36: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 37: ~~יהוא~~ (Jehoahaz)
- Line 38: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 39: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 40: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 41: ~~יהוא~~ (Jehoahaz)
- Line 42: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 43: ~~יהויכין~~ (Jehoiachin)
- Line 44: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 45: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 46: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 47: ~~יהויכין~~ (Jehoiachin)
- Line 48: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 49: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 50: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 51: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 52: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 53: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 54: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 55: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 56: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 57: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 58: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 59: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 60: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 61: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 62: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 63: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 64: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 65: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 66: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 67: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 68: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 69: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 70: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 71: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 72: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 73: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 74: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 75: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 76: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 77: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 78: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 79: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 80: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 81: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 82: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 83: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 84: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 85: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 86: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 87: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 88: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 89: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 90: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 91: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 92: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 93: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 94: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 95: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 96: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 97: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 98: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 99: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 100: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 101: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 102: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 103: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 104: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 105: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 106: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 107: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 108: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 109: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 110: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 111: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 112: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 113: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 114: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 115: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 116: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 117: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 118: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 119: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 120: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 121: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 122: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 123: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 124: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 125: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 126: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 127: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 128: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 129: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 130: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 131: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 132: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 133: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 134: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 135: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 136: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 137: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 138: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 139: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 140: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 141: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 142: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 143: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 144: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 145: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 146: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 147: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 148: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 149: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 150: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 151: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 152: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 153: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 154: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 155: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 156: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 157: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 158: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 159: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 160: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 161: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 162: ~~ו~~ (and)
- Line 163: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
- Line 164: ~~היה~~ (was)
- Line 165: ~~בן~~ (son)
- Line 166: ~~ל~~ (of)
- Line 167: ~~יהויחזקאל~~ (Jehoiachazkai)
-

Text 24B (p. 90 f.)



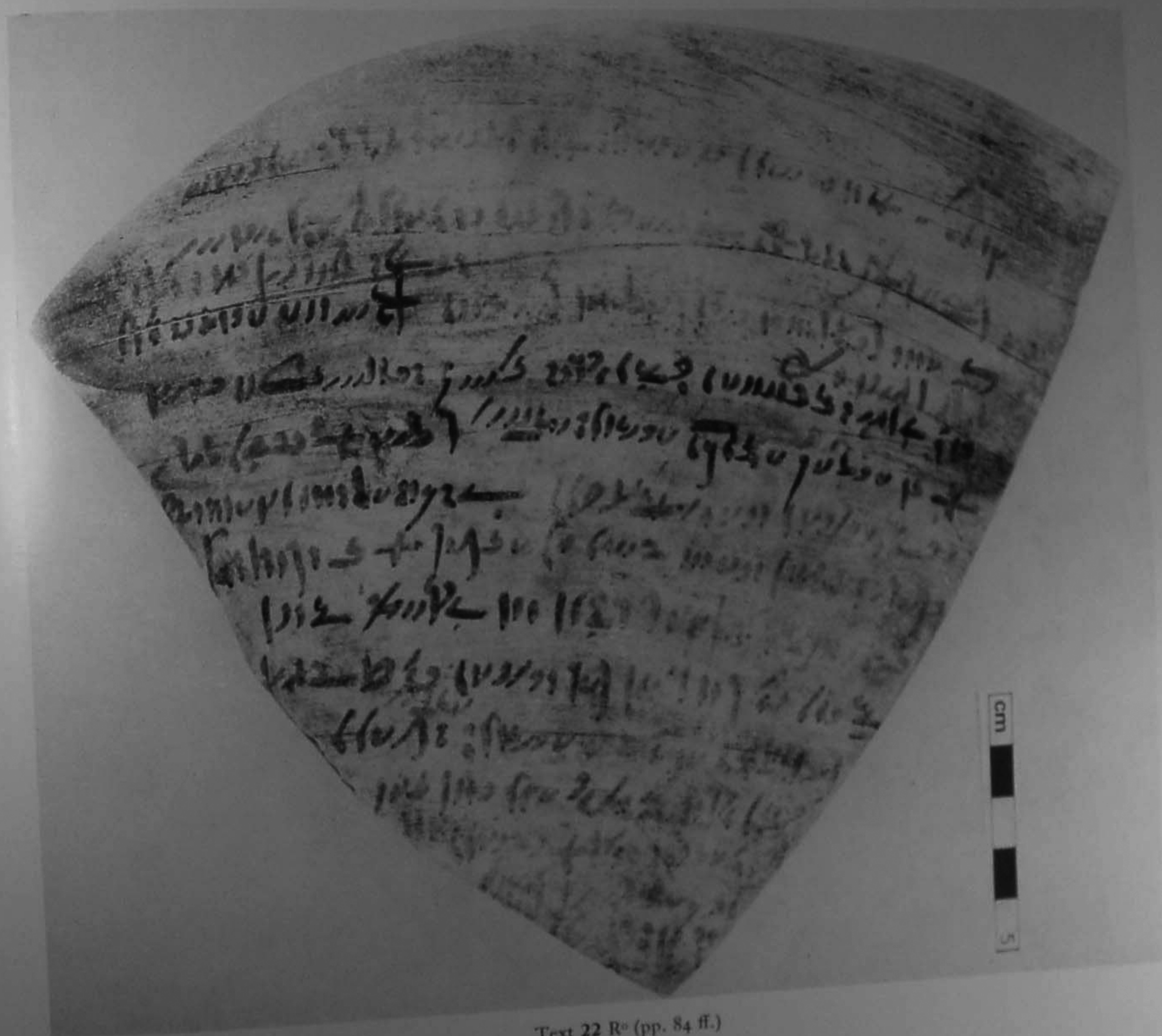
Text 21 R^o (pp. 81 ff.)

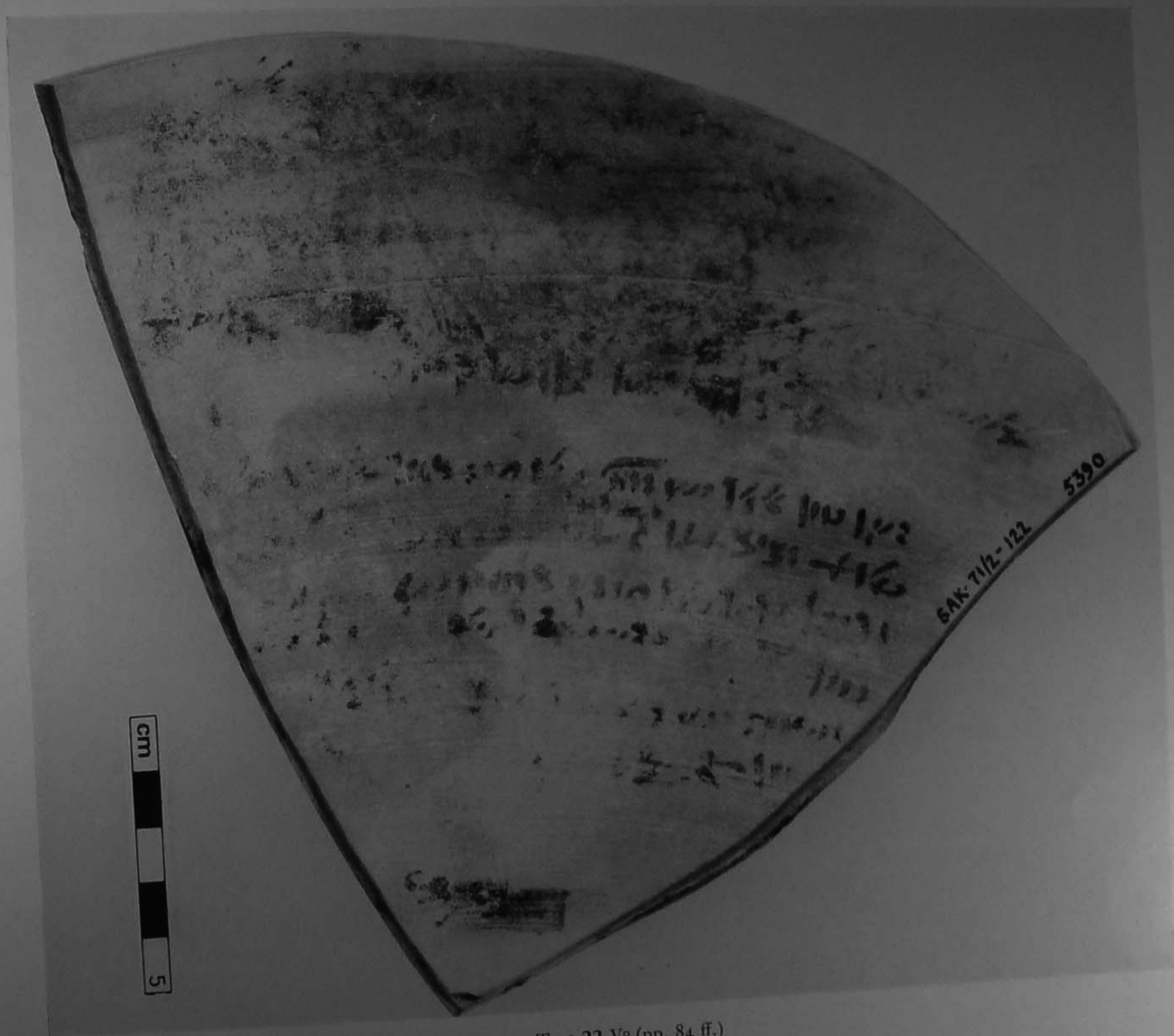


Text 21 V^o (pp. 81 ff.)

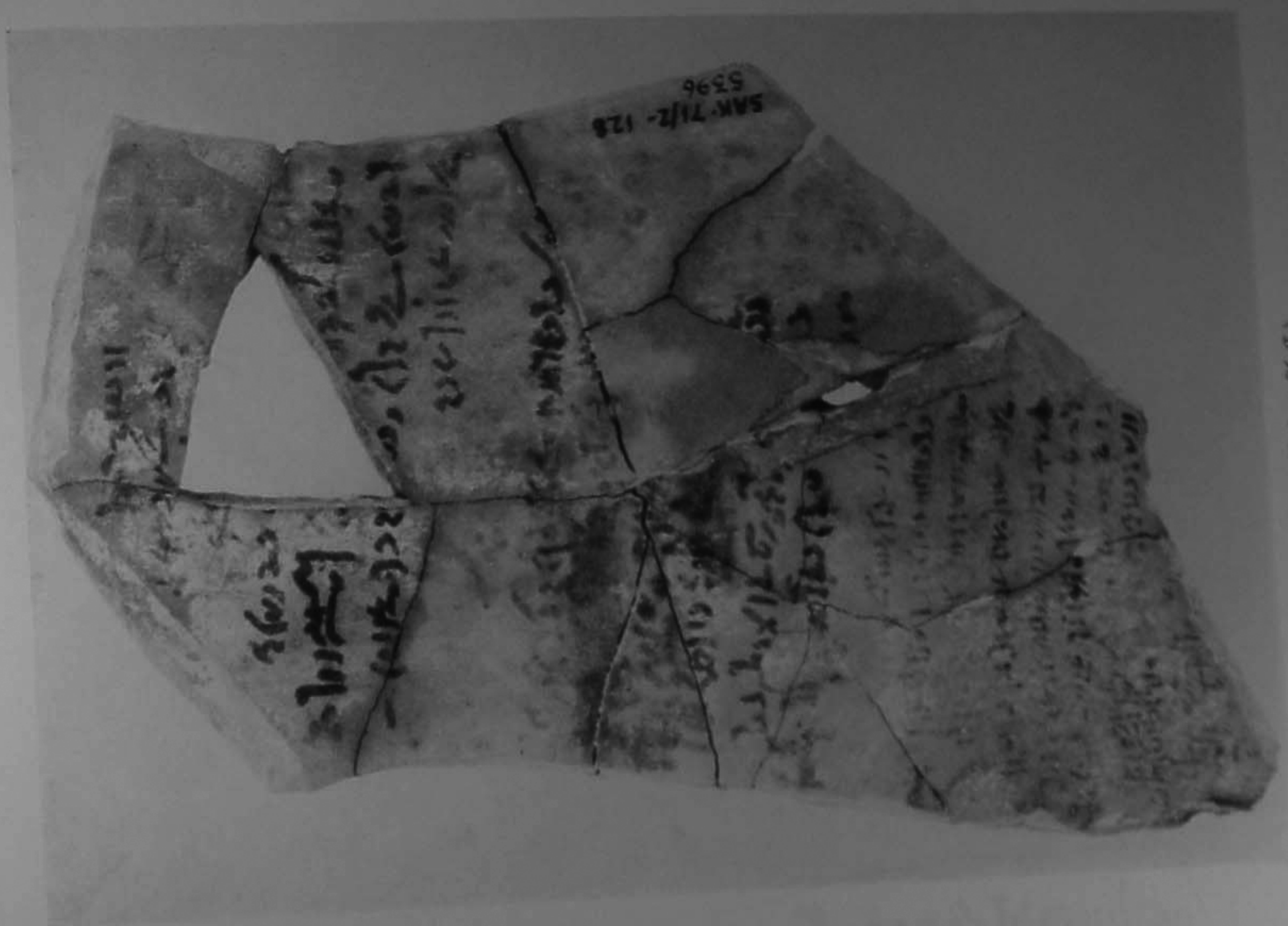
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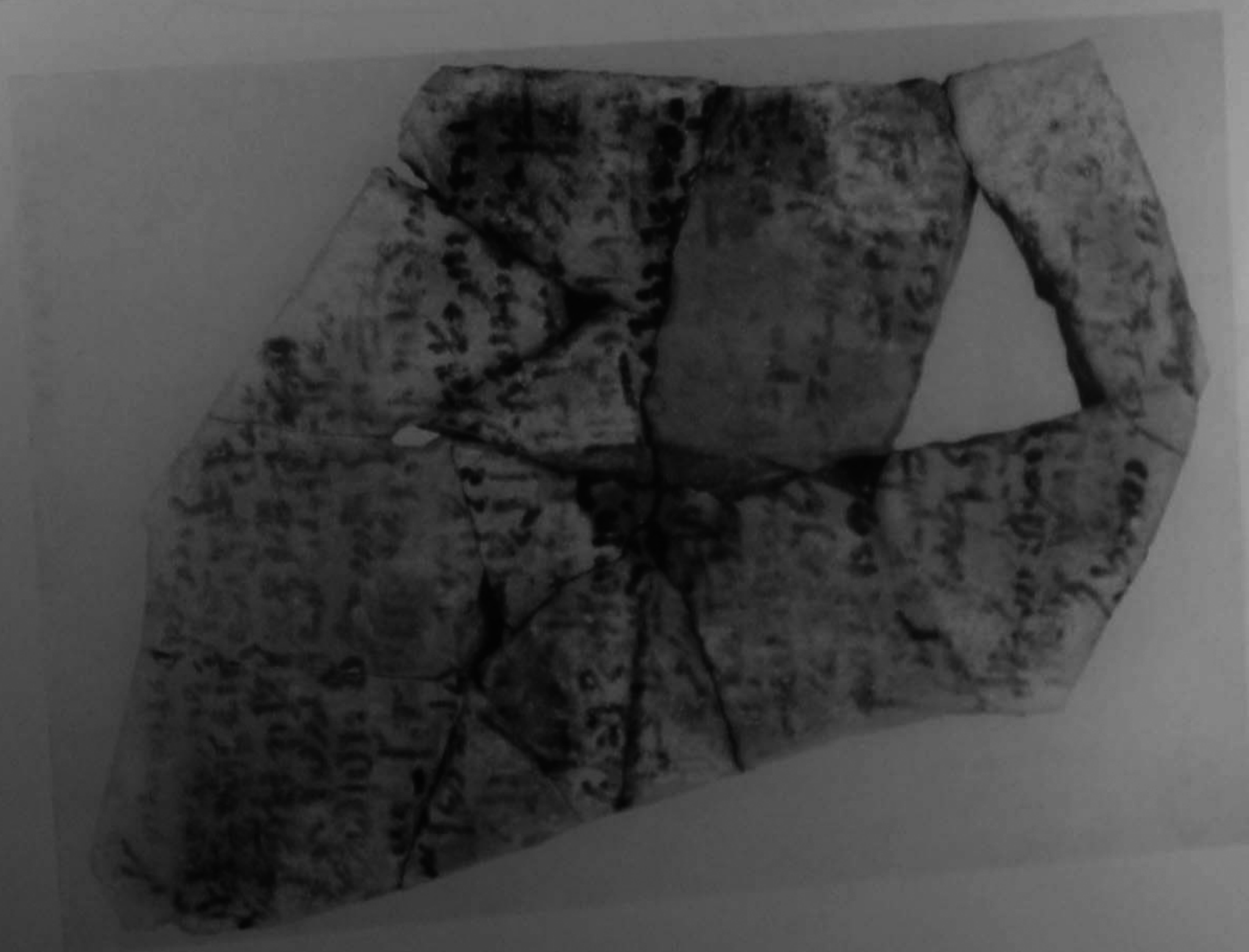
Text 22 R^o (pp. 84 ff.)



Text 22 V^o (pp. 84 ff.)



Text 23 V^o (pp. 86 ff.)



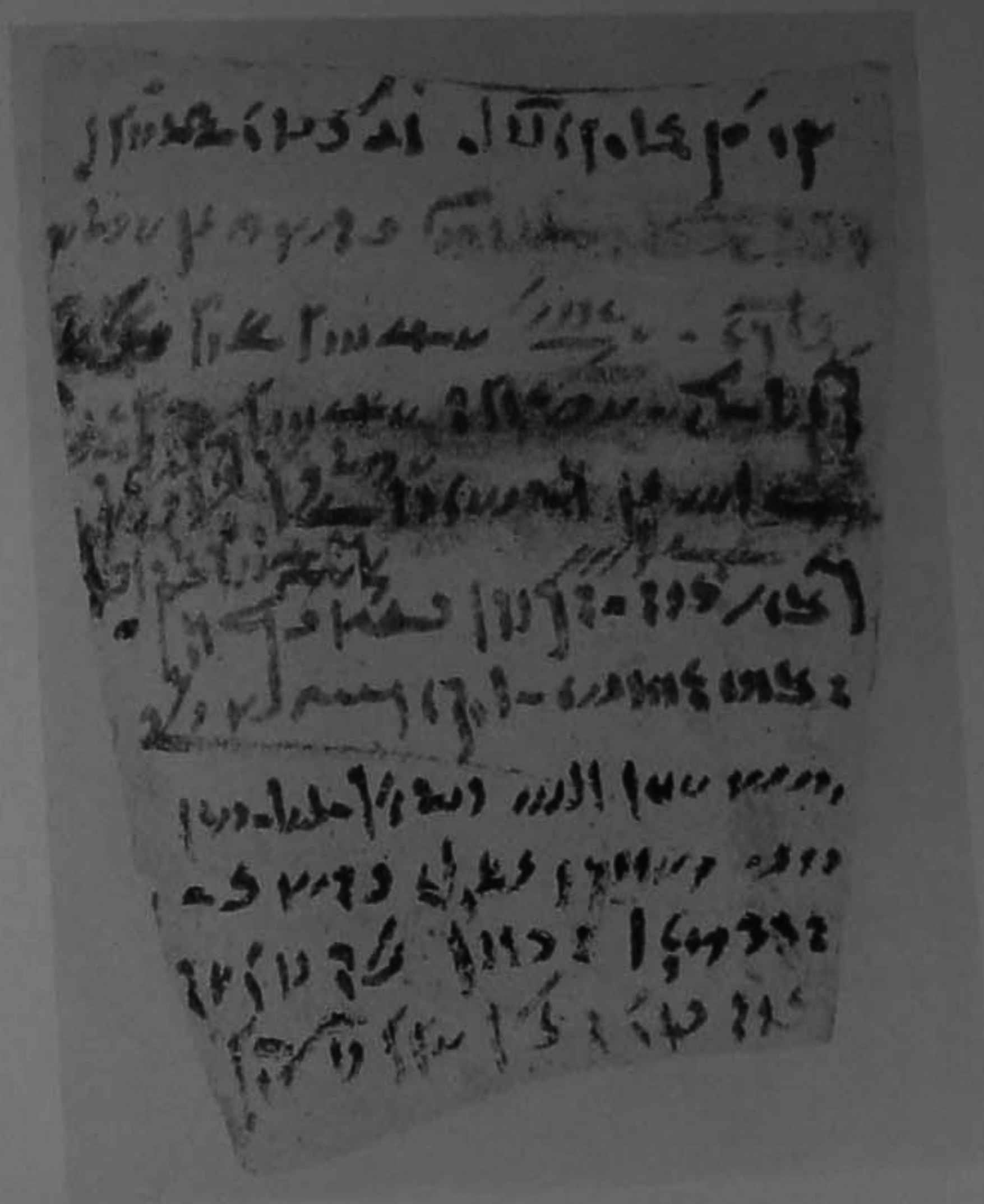
Text 23 R^o (pp. 86 ff.)

Map of the Tiber River delta and surrounding areas, showing various districts and their names in Hebrew. The map is divided into several regions, each labeled with a number and a name. The names are written in Hebrew script, and the map includes a compass rose and a scale bar.

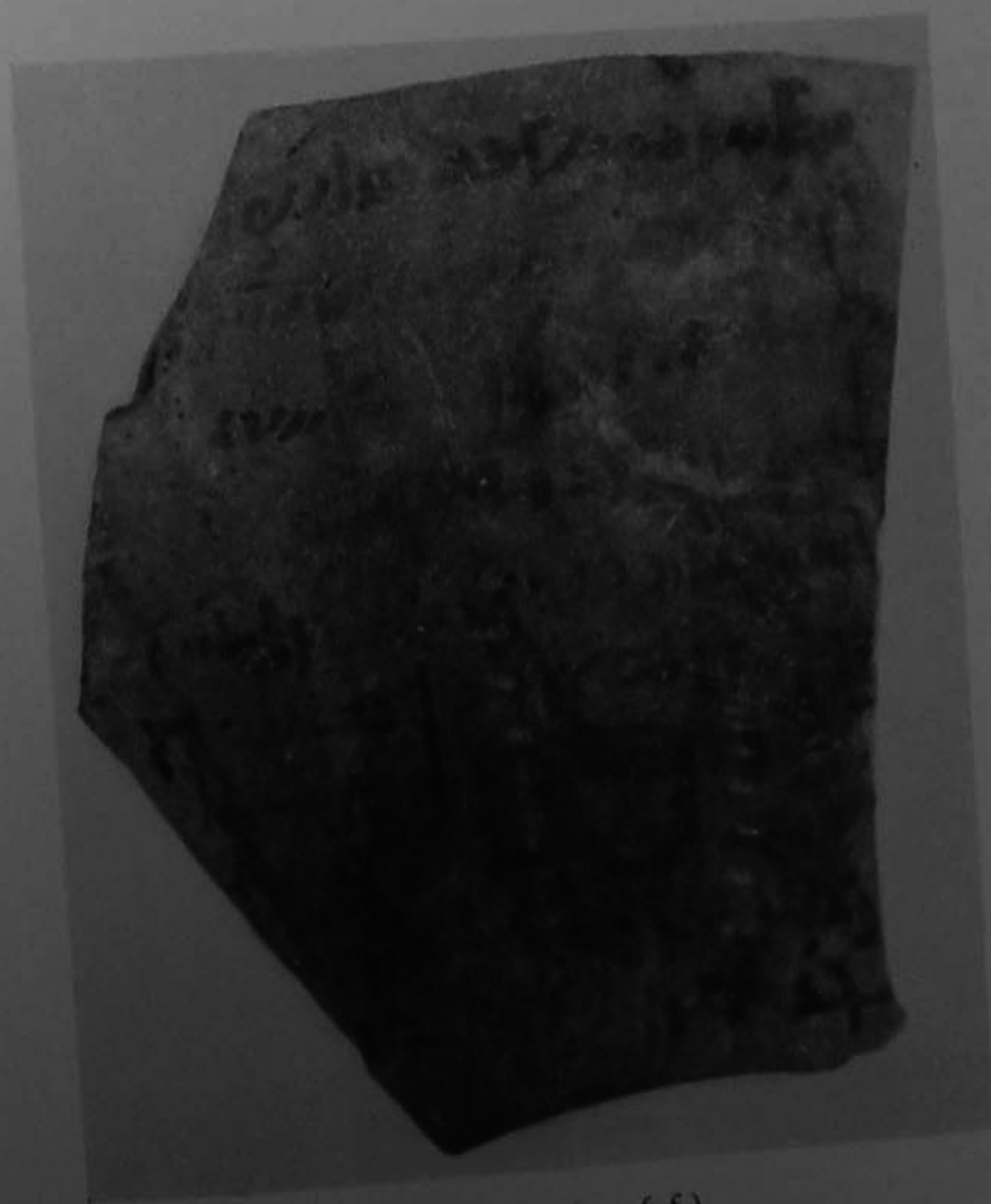
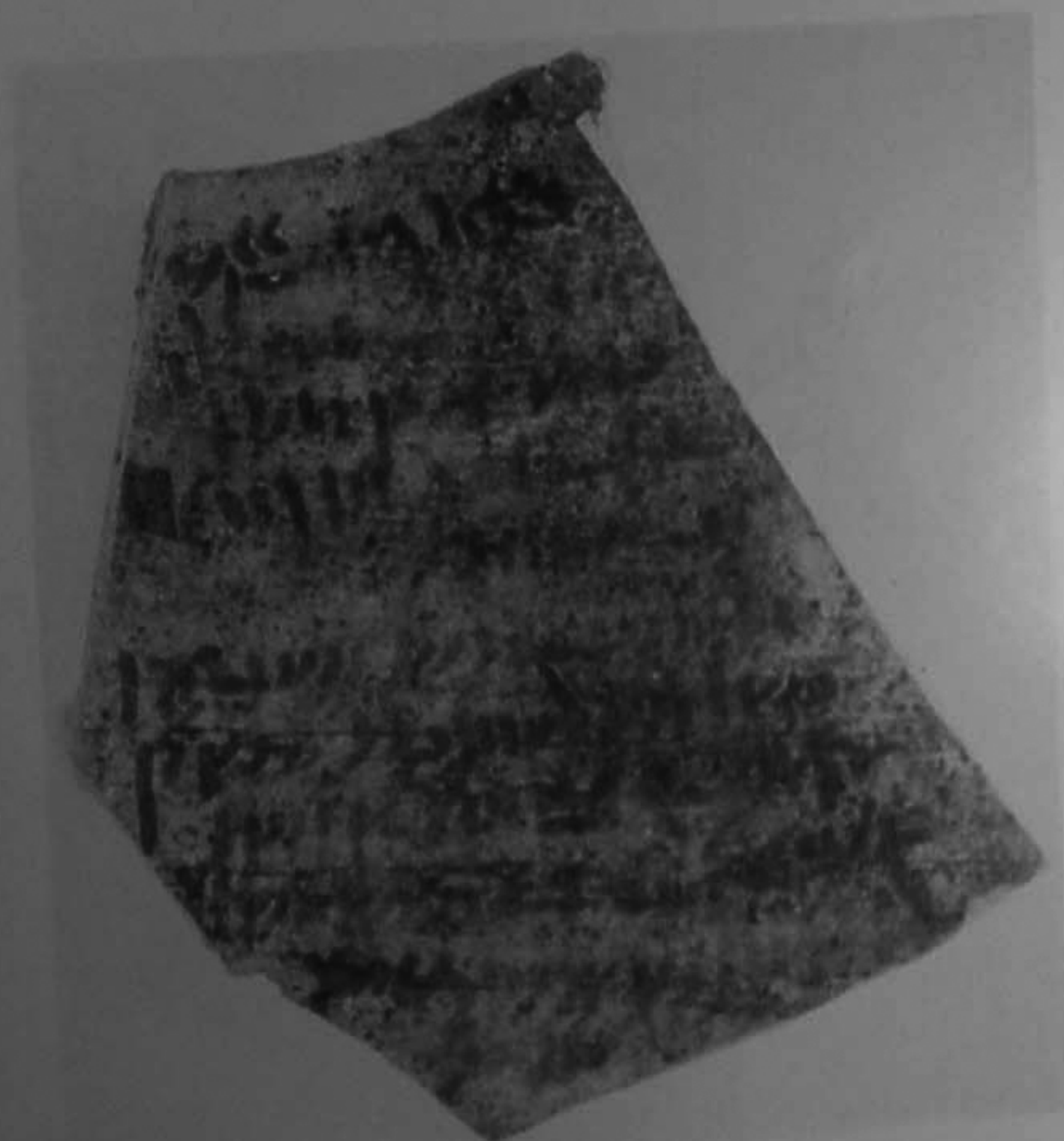
Regions and names (from top to bottom):

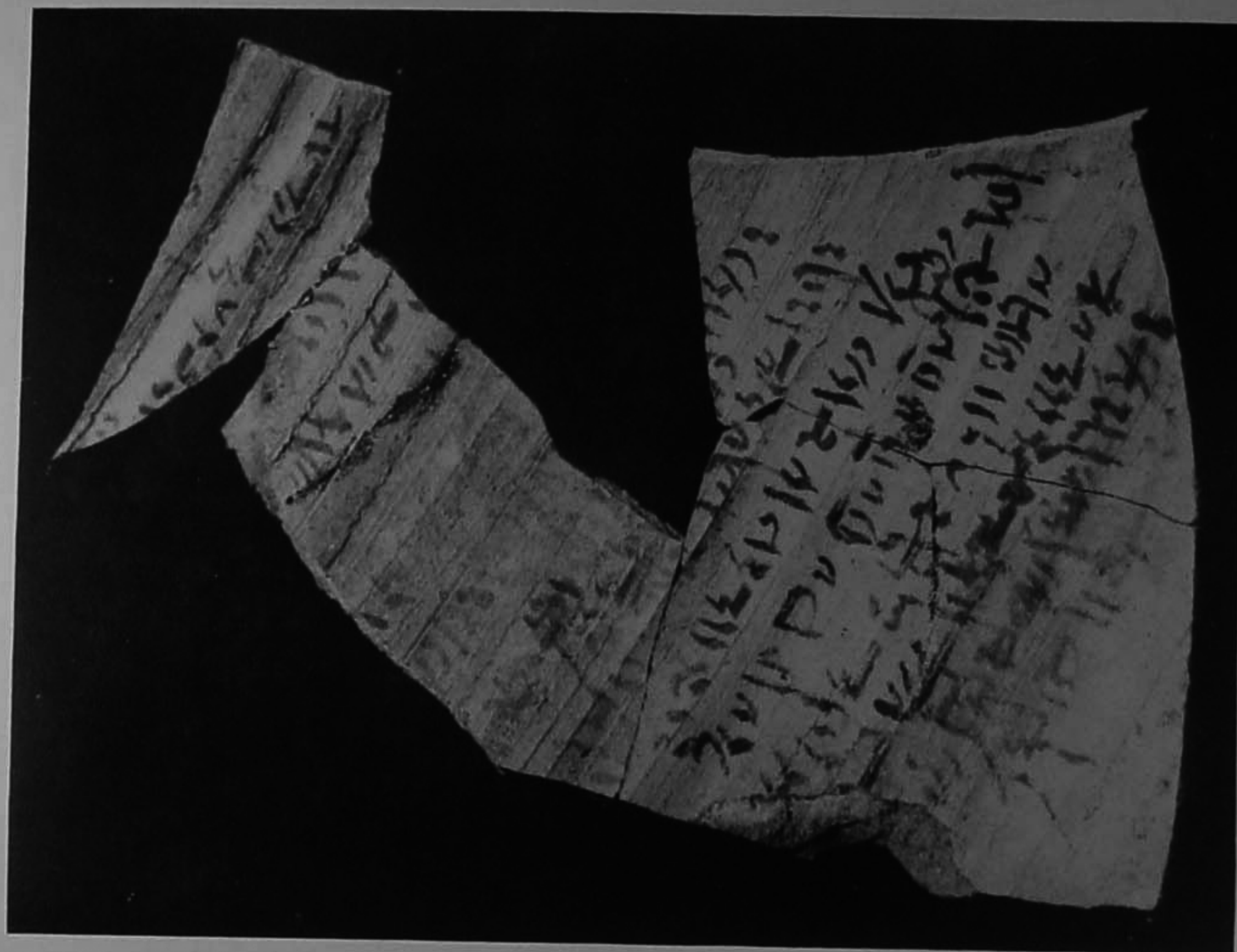
- 10. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 15. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 20. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 25. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 30. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 35. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 40. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 45. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 50. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 55. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 60. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 65. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 70. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 75. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 80. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 85. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 90. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 95. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)
- 100. **מחוז אשדוד** (Ashdod District)

Text 23 V^o (pp. 86 ff.)[illegible]Text 23 R^o (pp. 86 ff.)

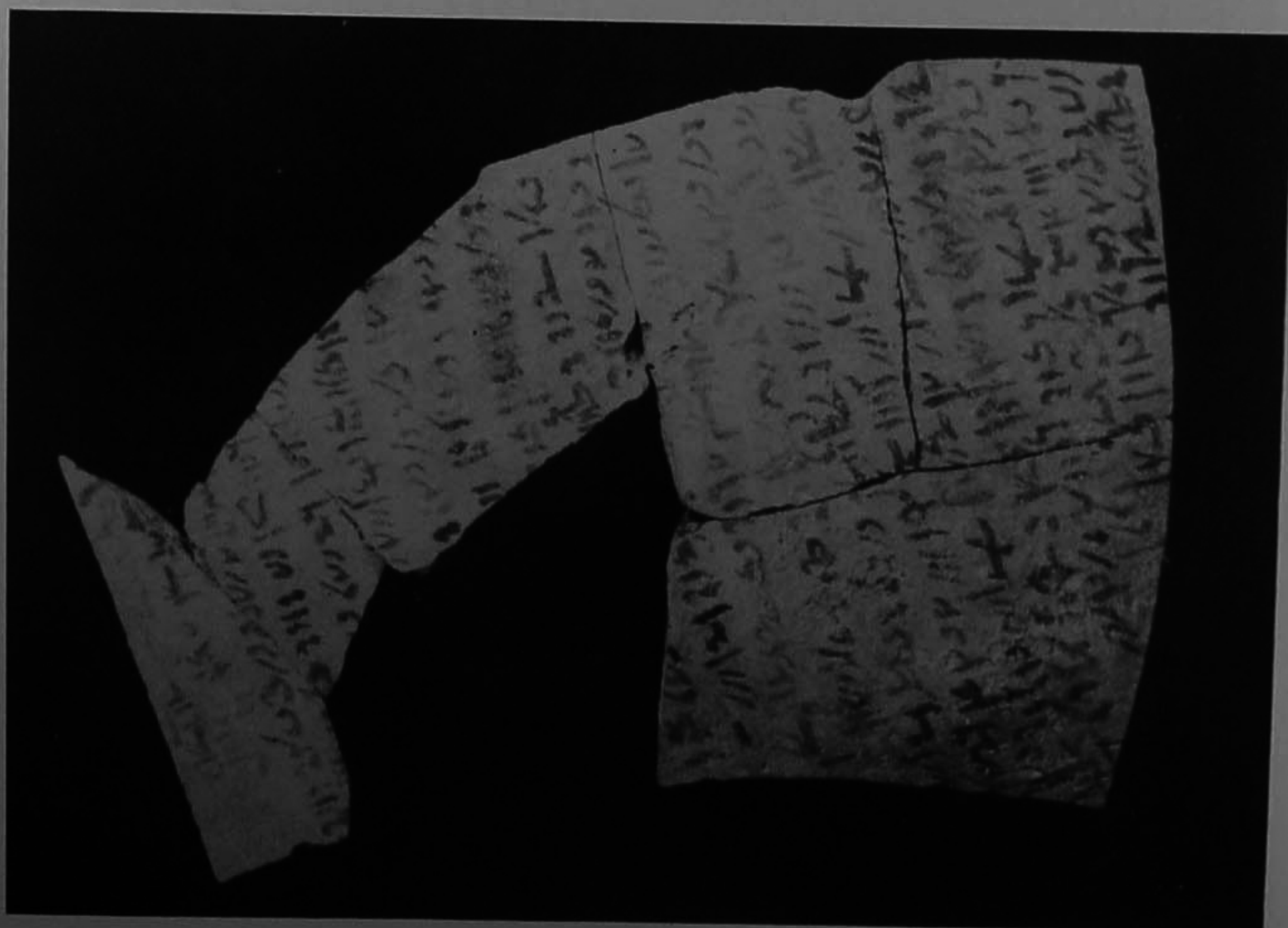


Text 25 (p. 92 f.)

Text 27 R^o (p. 96 f.)Text 27 V^o (p. 96 f.)



Text 26 V^o (pp. 93 ff.)



Text 26 R^o (pp. 93 ff.)

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Text 26 V° (pp. 93 ff.)

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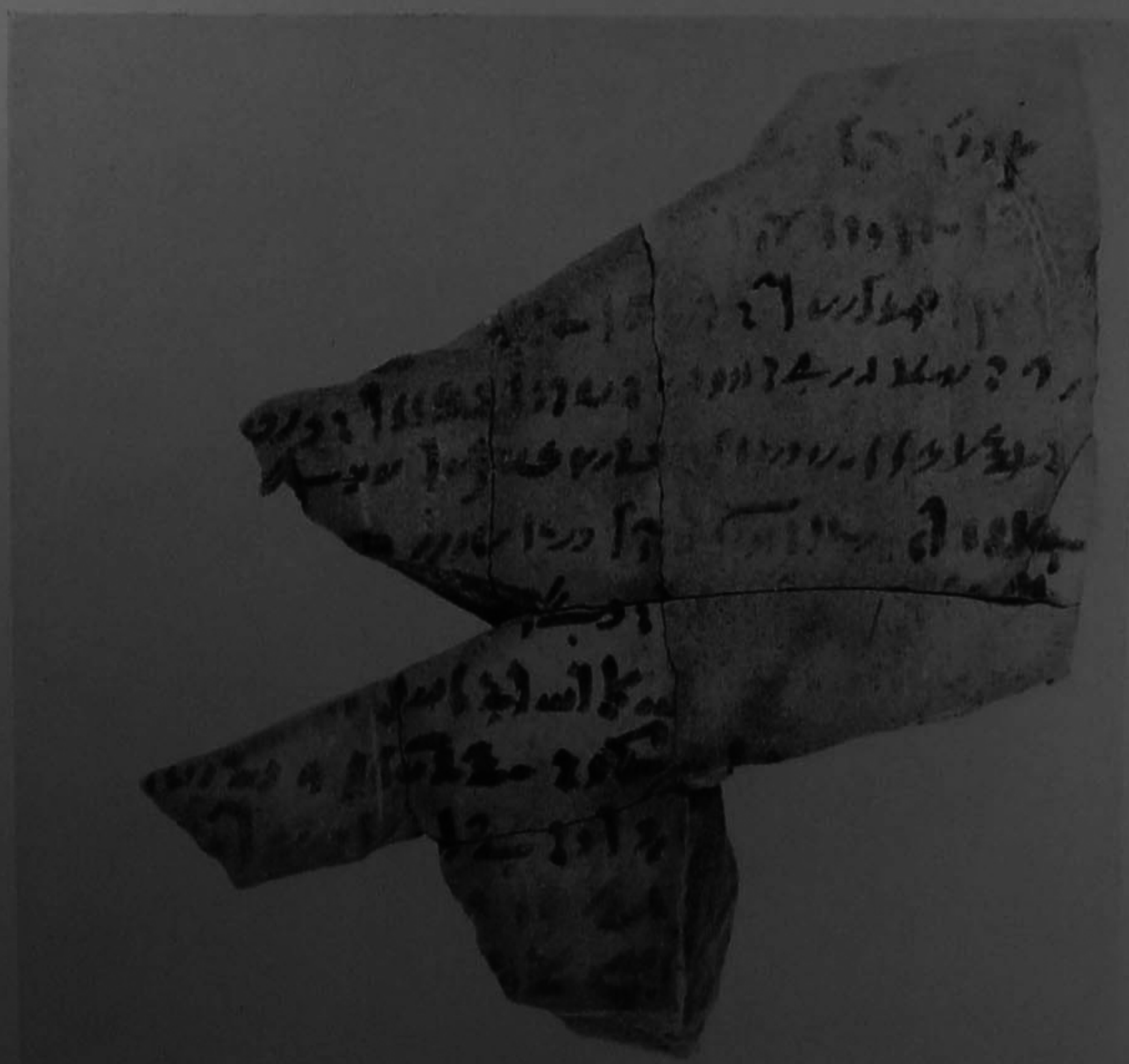
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Text 26 R^o (pp. 93 ff.)



Text 28 (p. 97 f.)

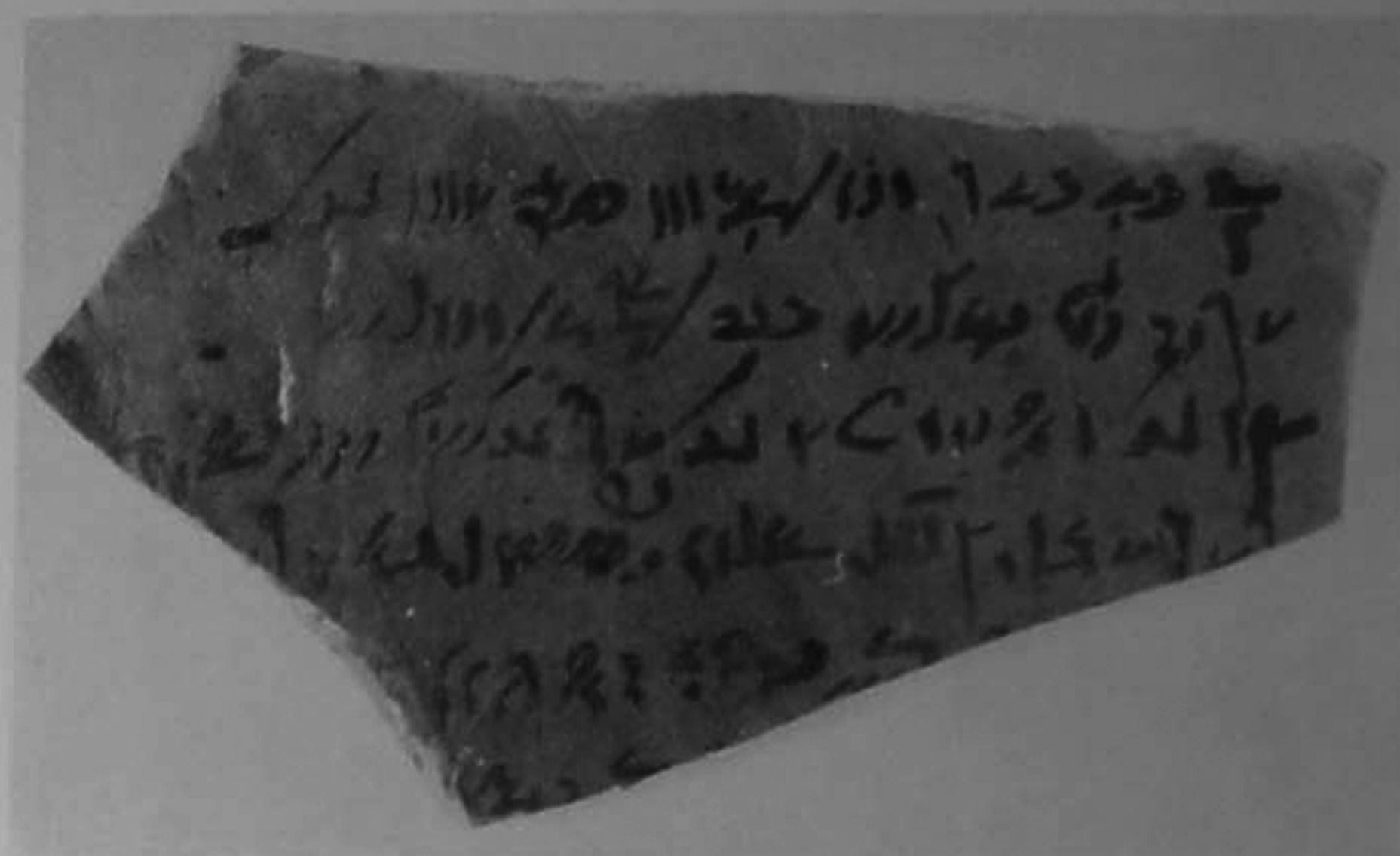


Text 30 (p. 100 f.)

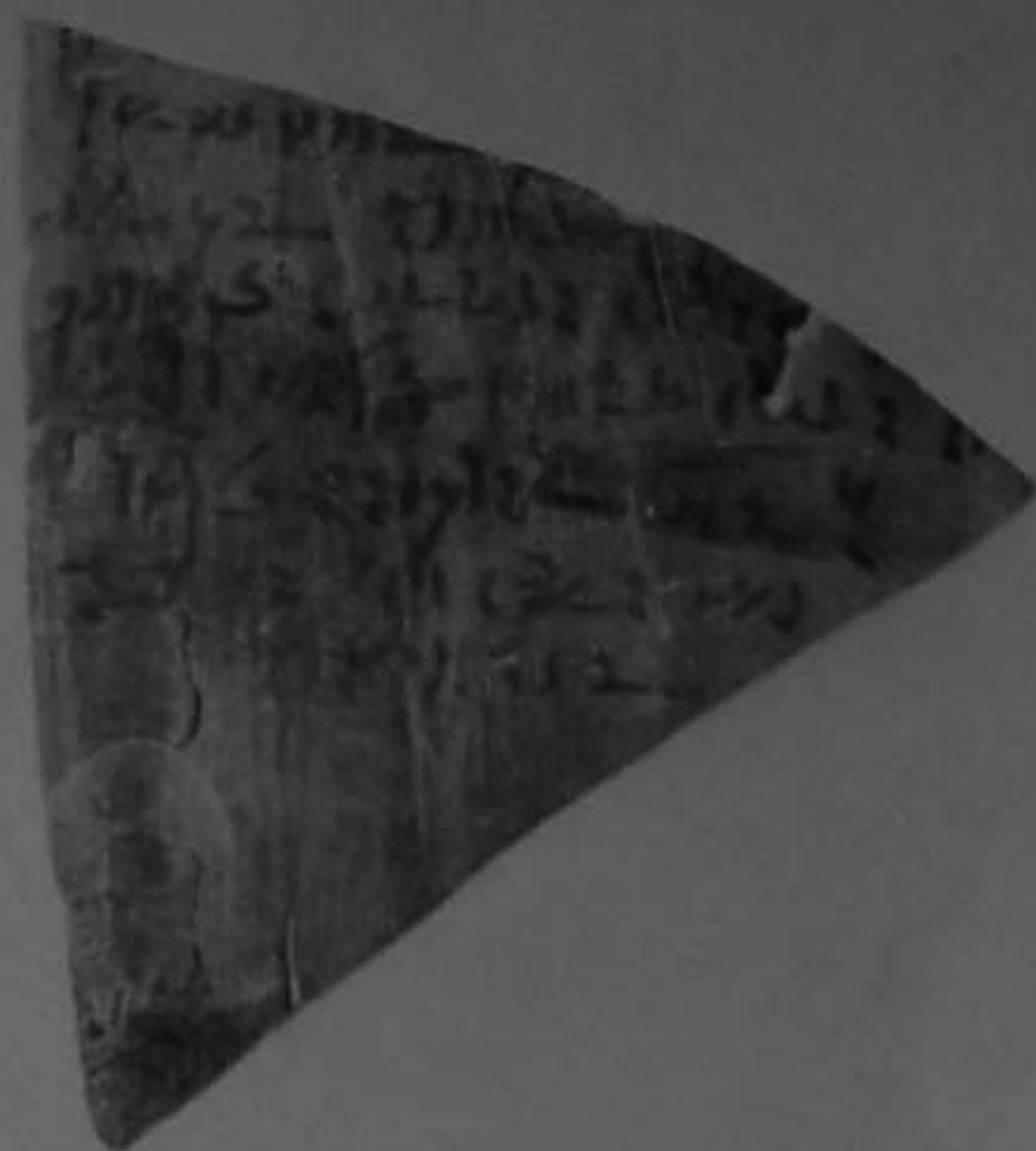


Text 29 (pp. 98 ff.)

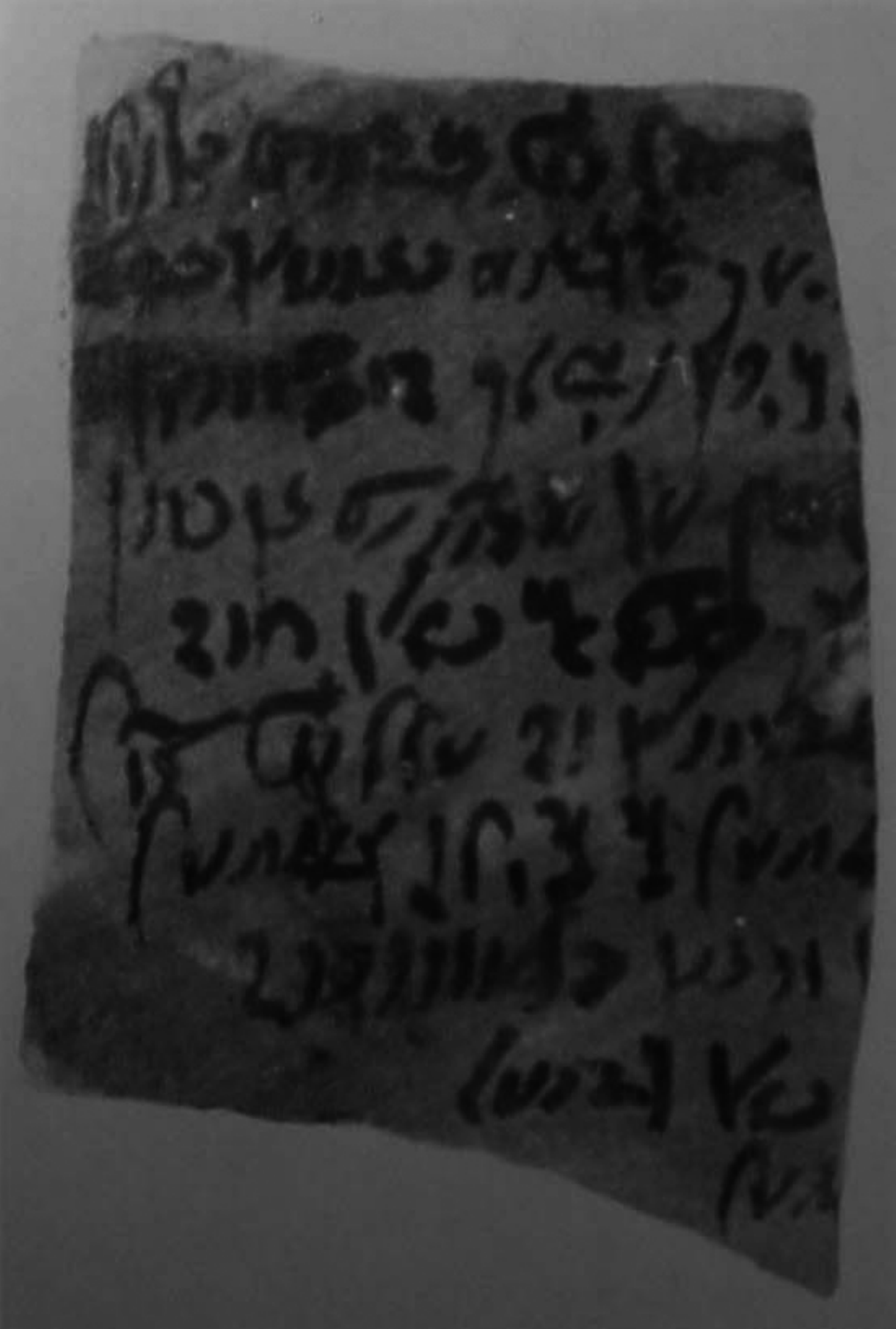
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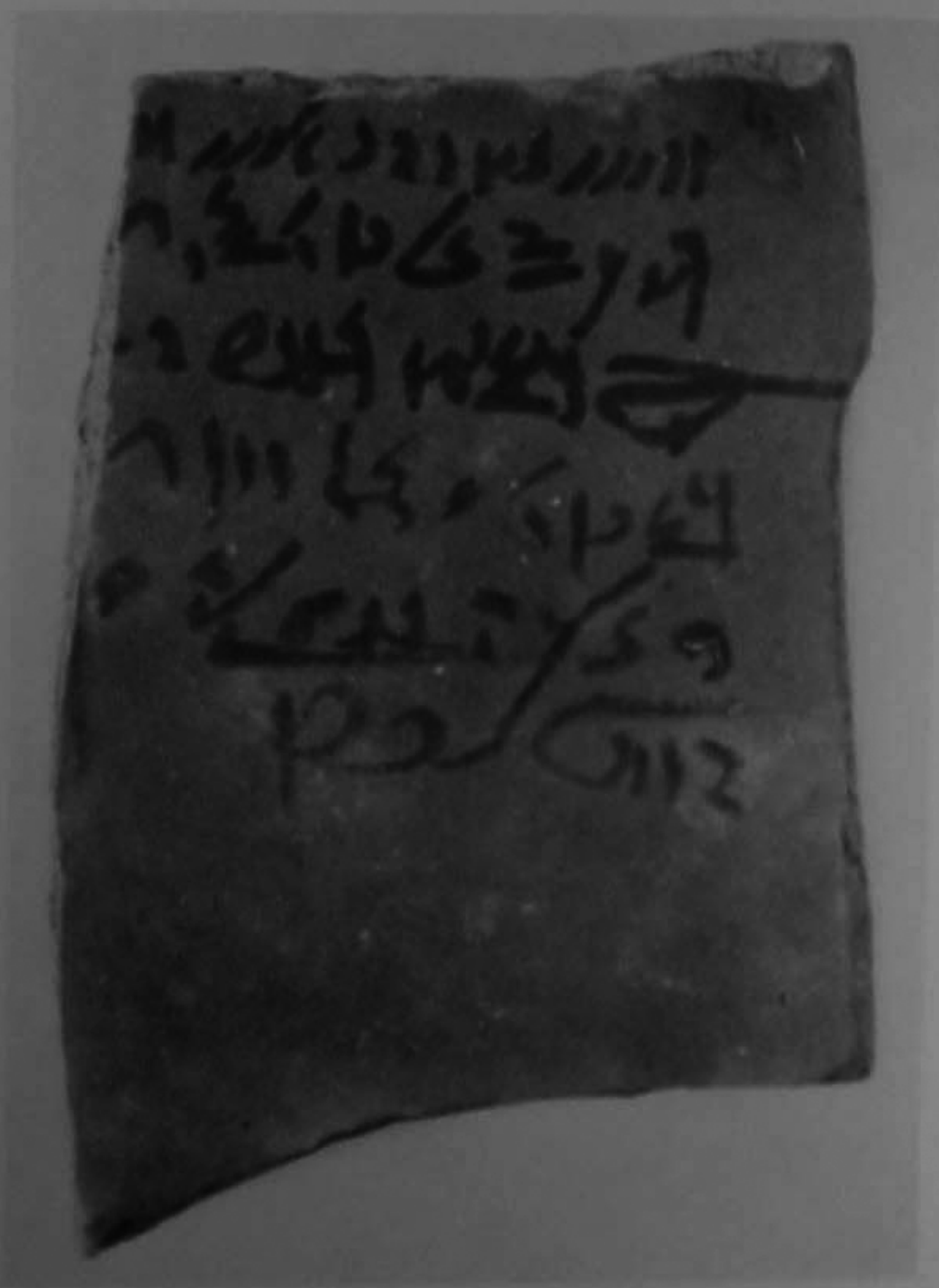
Text 31A (p. 102 f.)



Text 31B (p. 102 f.)



Text 32 R° (p. 103 f.)



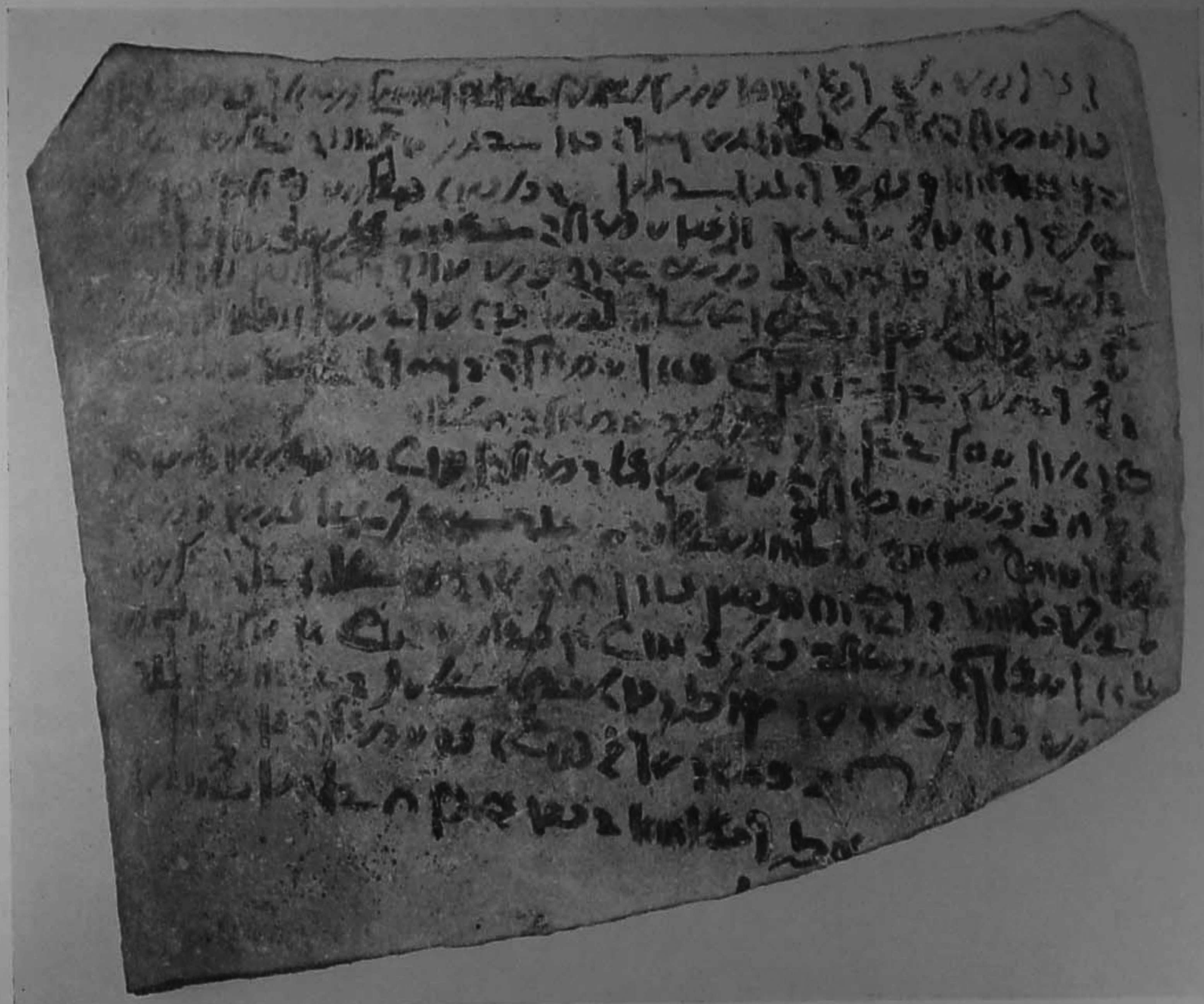
Text 32 V° (p. 103 f.)

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 1. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 2. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 3. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 4. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 5. 100/100 100/100 100/100

Text 31A (p. 102 f.)

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 1. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 2. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 3. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 4. 100/100 100/100 100/100
 5. 100/100 100/100 100/100

Text 31B (p. 102 f.)



Text 33 (pp. 104 ff.)



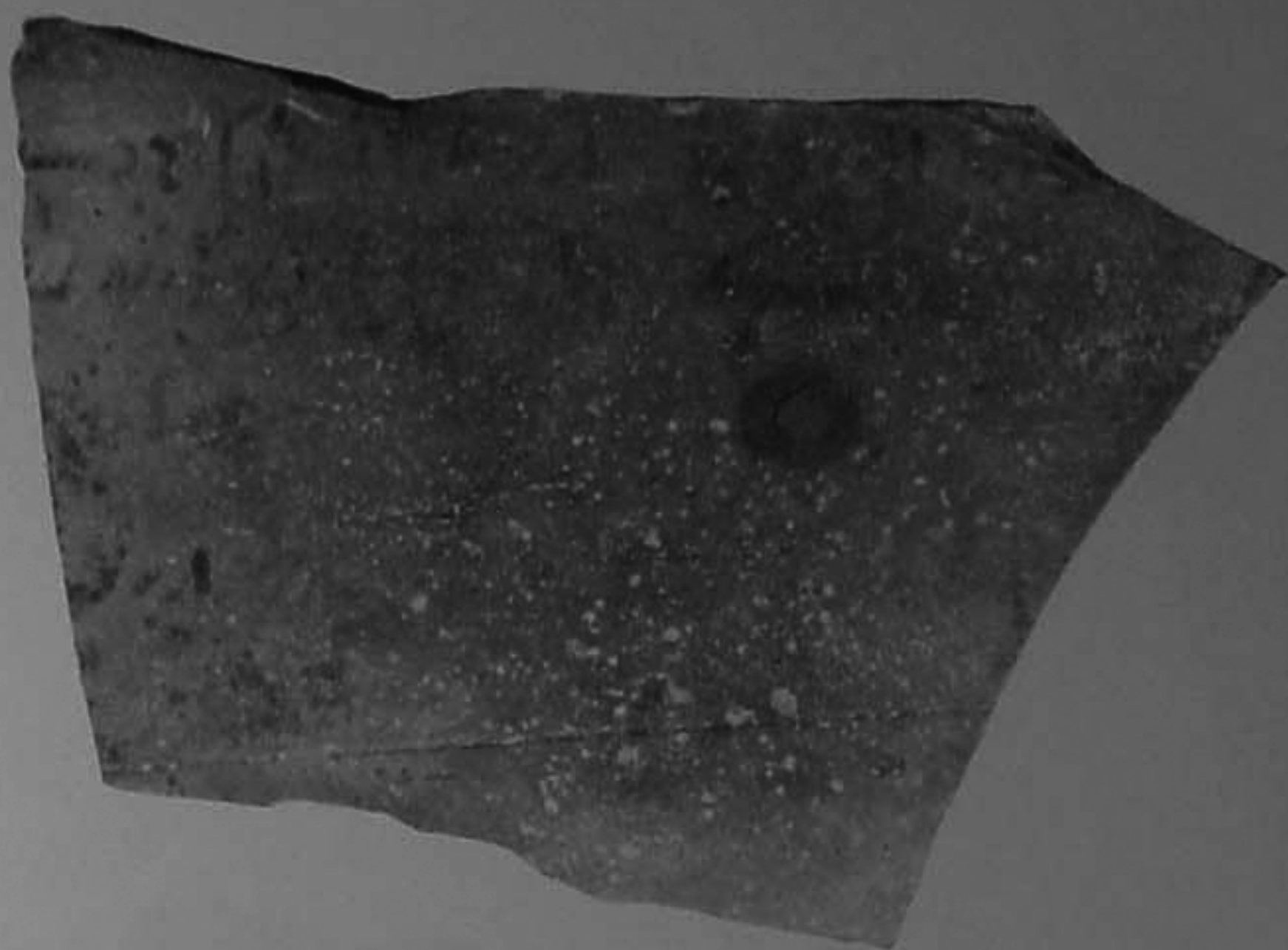
Text 34 (p. 107)



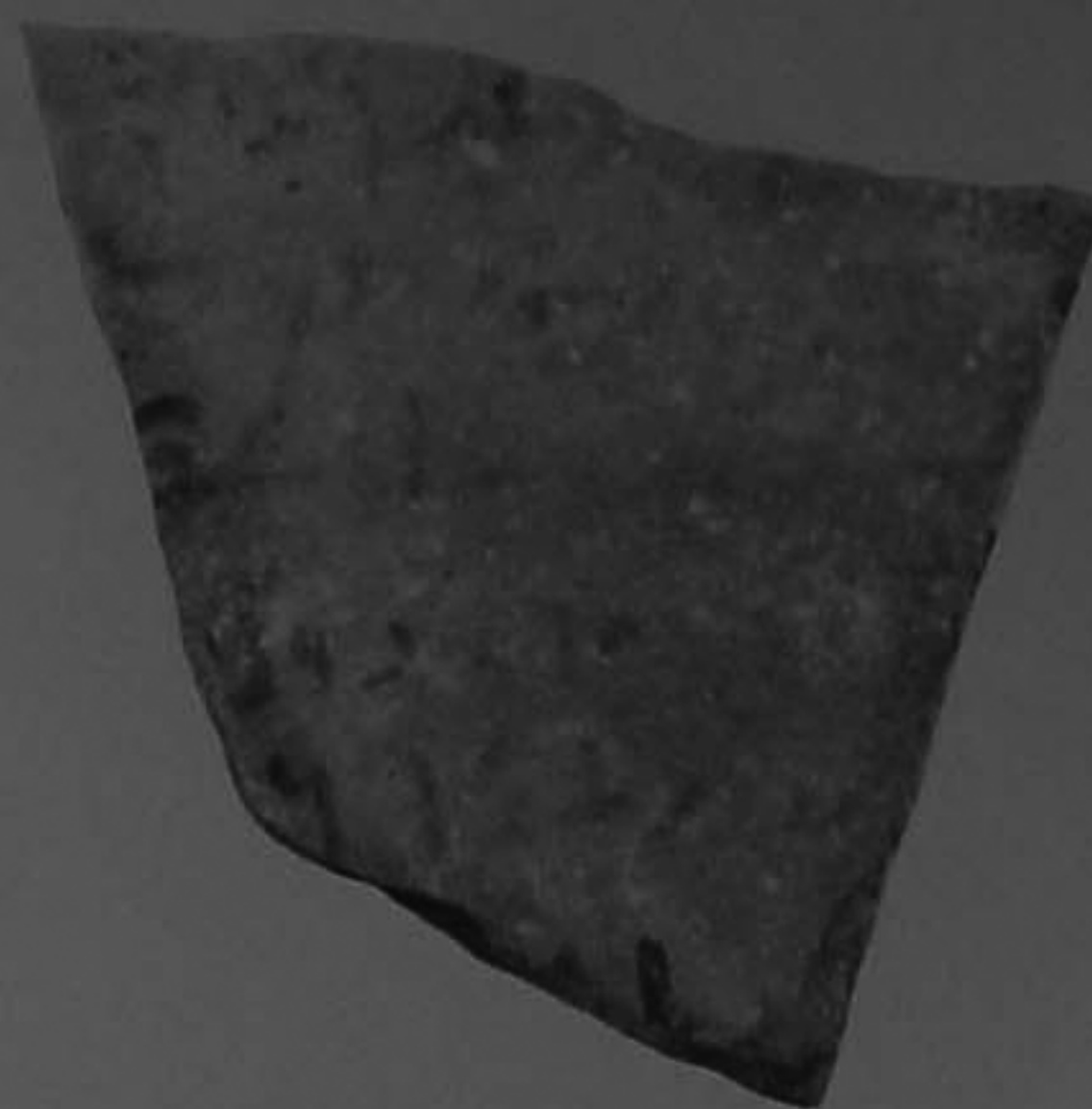
Text 36 (p. 108)



Text 35 (p. 107 f.)



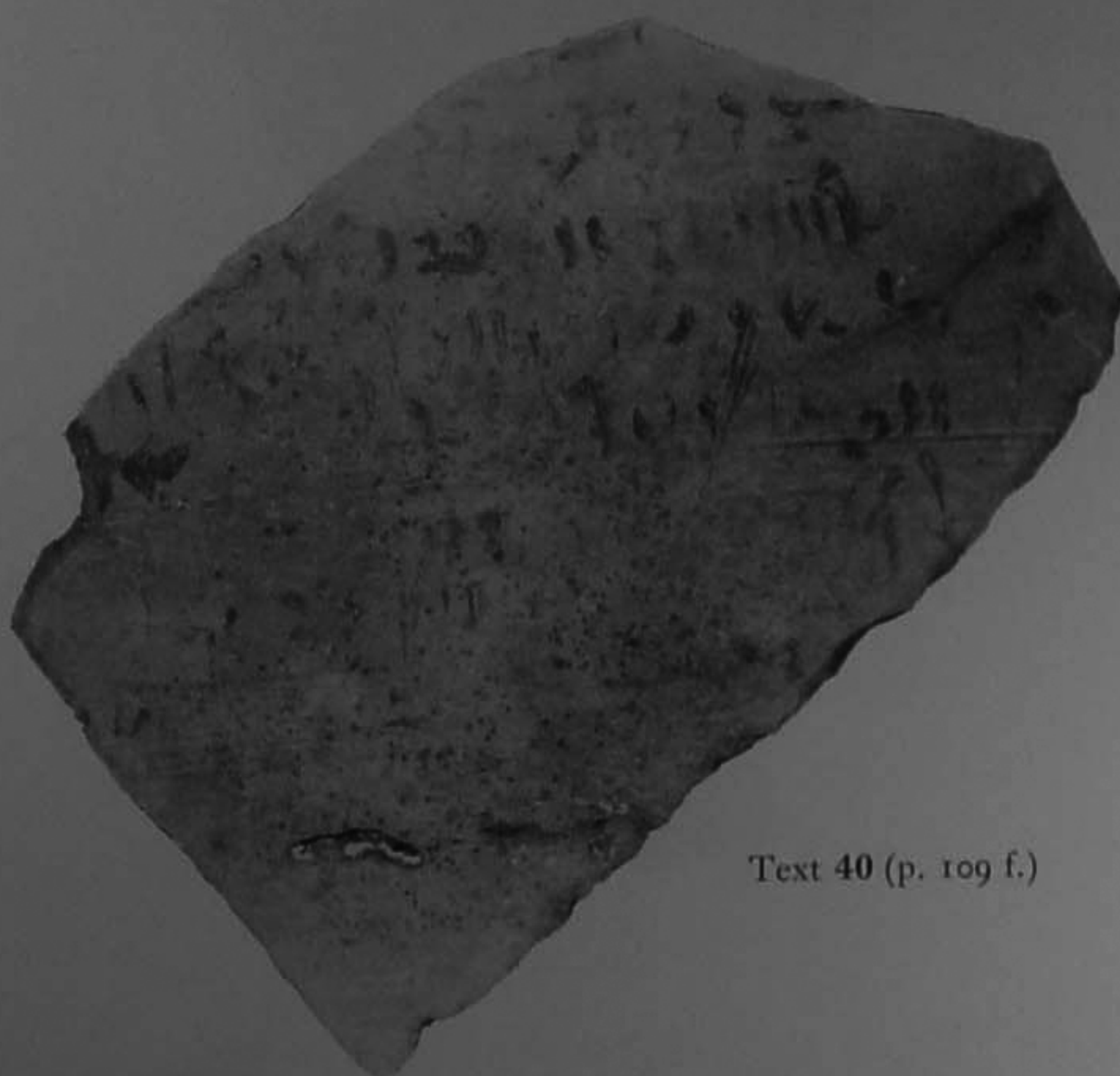
Text 37 (p. 108)



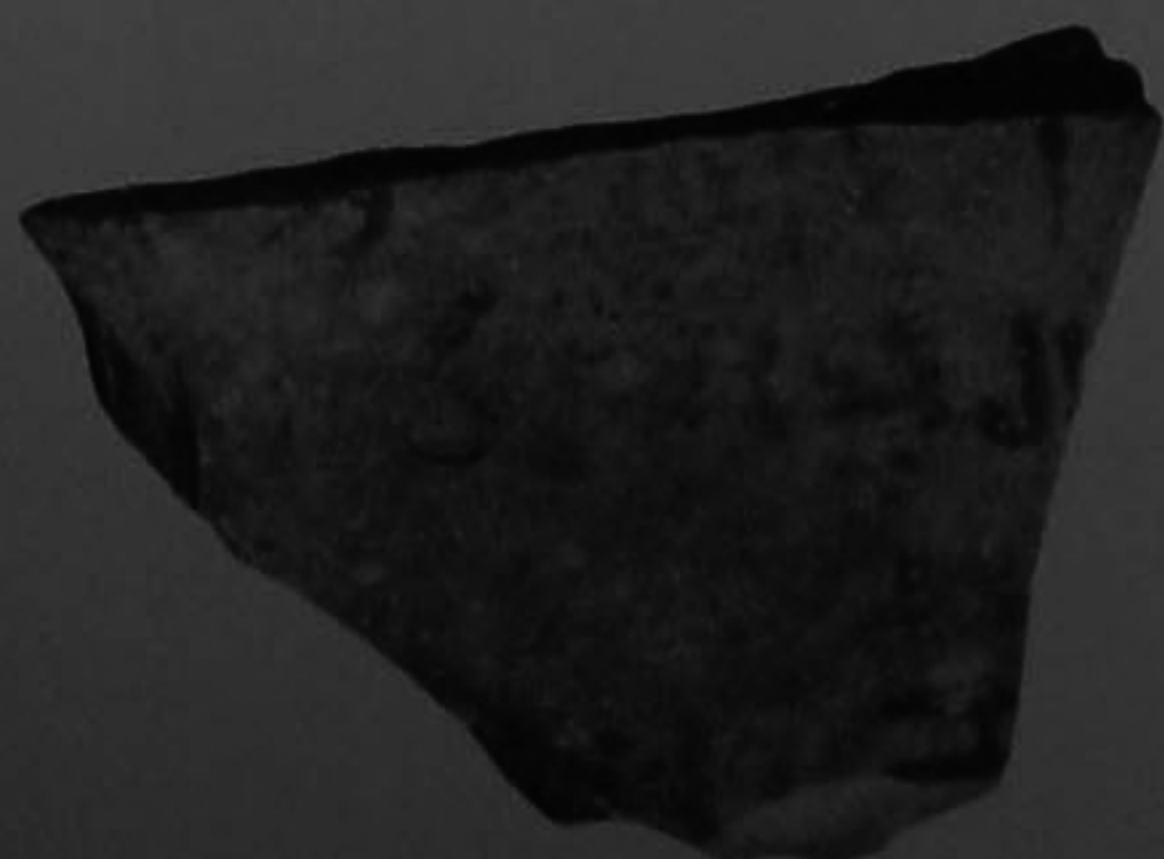
Text 38 (p. 108 f.)



Text 39 (p. 109)



Text 40 (p. 109 f.)



Text 41 (p. 110)



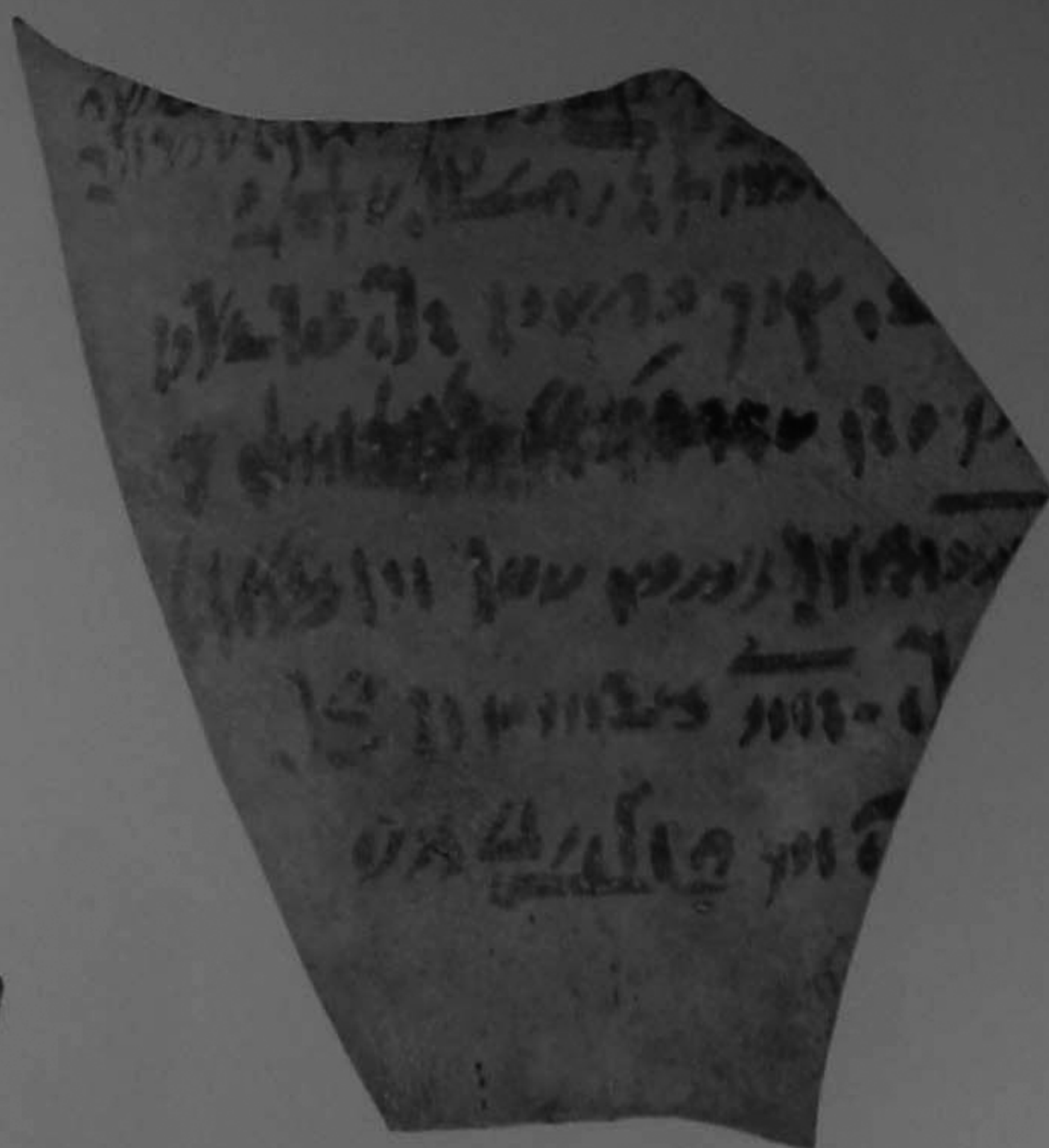
Text 42 (p. 110)



Text 43 (p. 110)



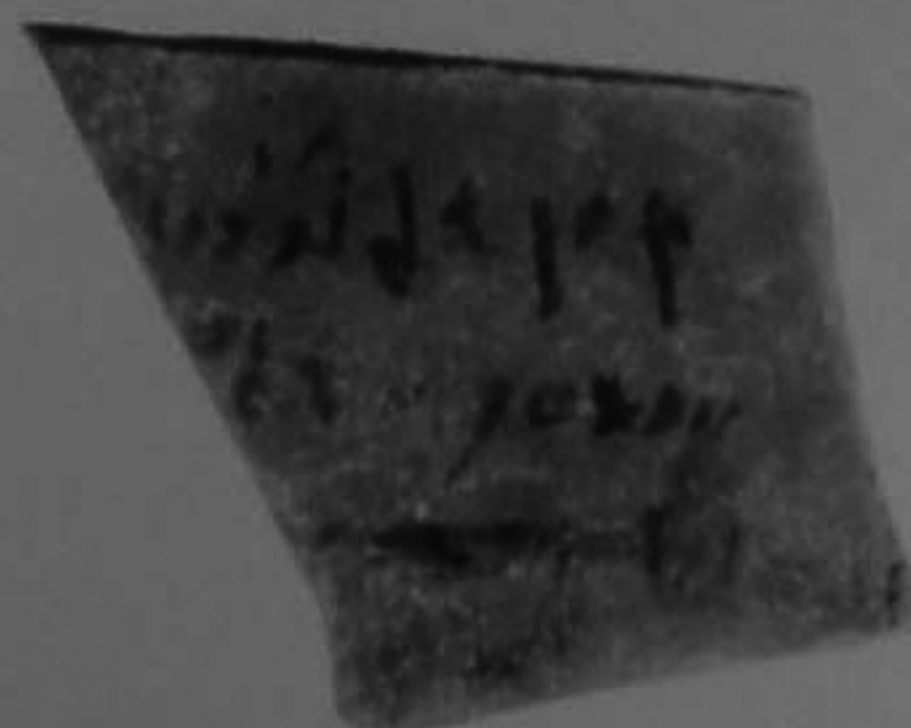
Text 44 (p. 111)



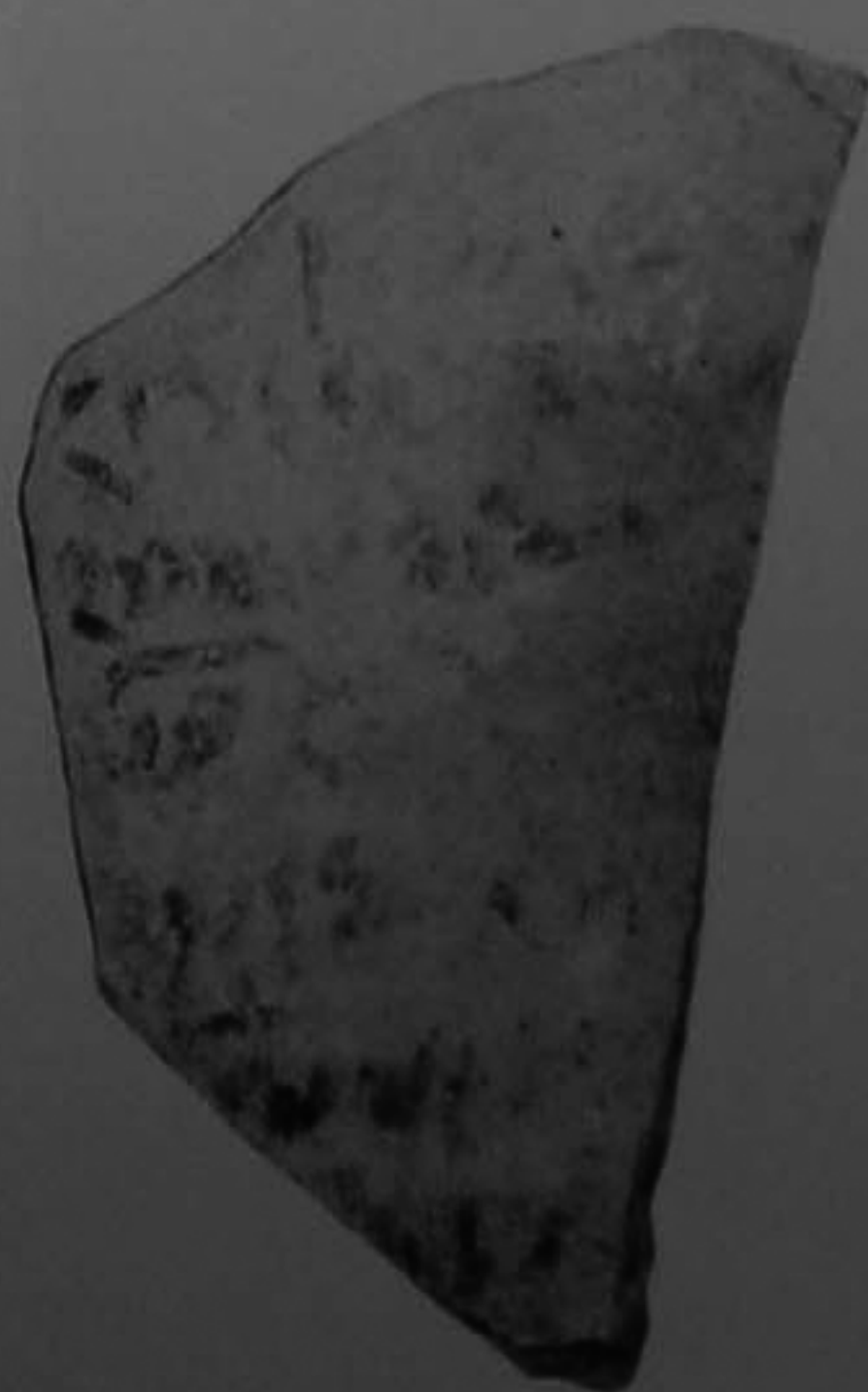
Text 45 (p. 111)



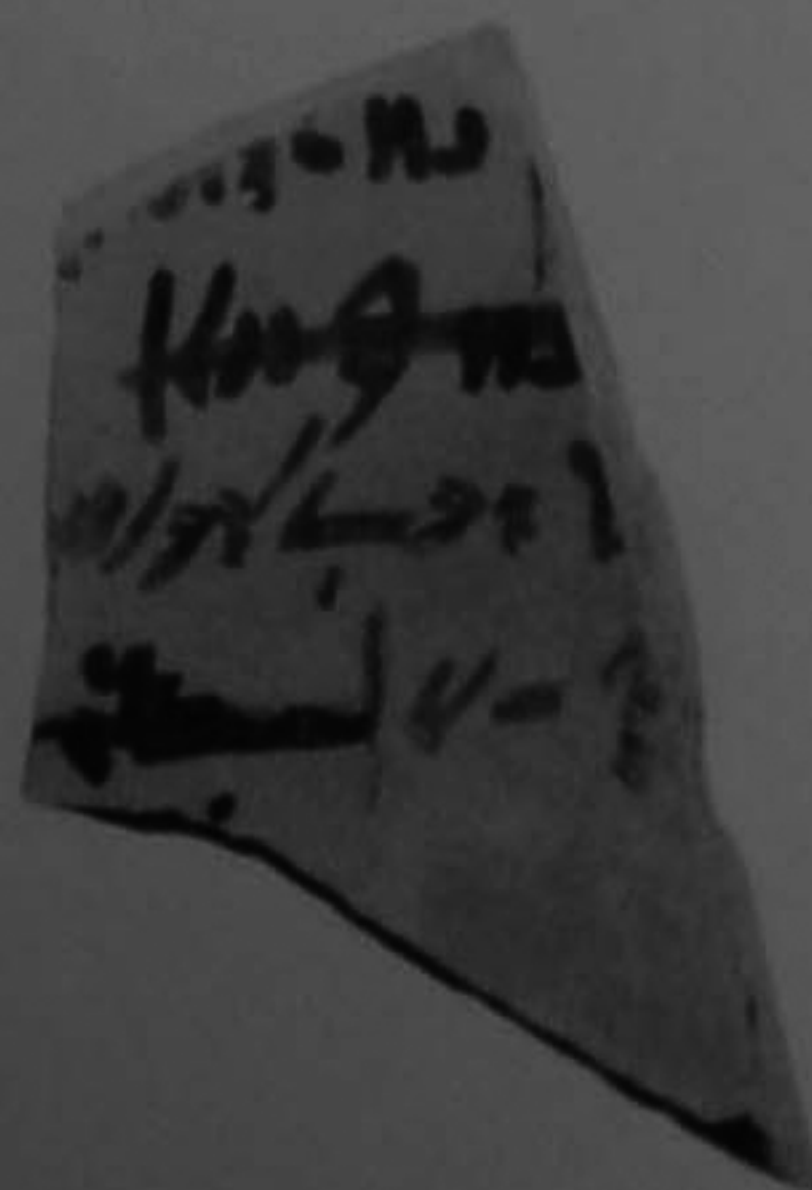
Text 46 (p. 111 f.)



Text 48 (p. 113)



Text 47 (p. 112)



Text 49 (p. 113)



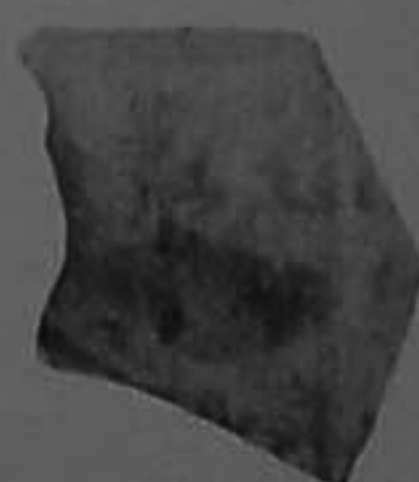
Text 50 (p. 113 f.)



Text 51 (p. 114)



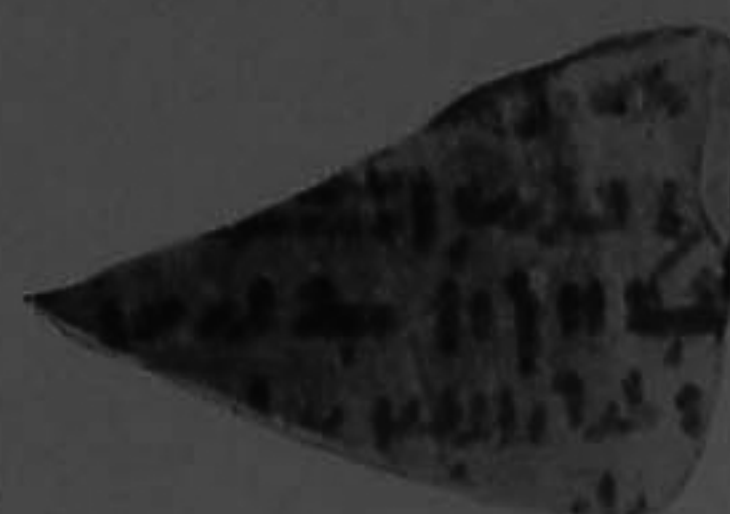
Text 52 (p. 114)



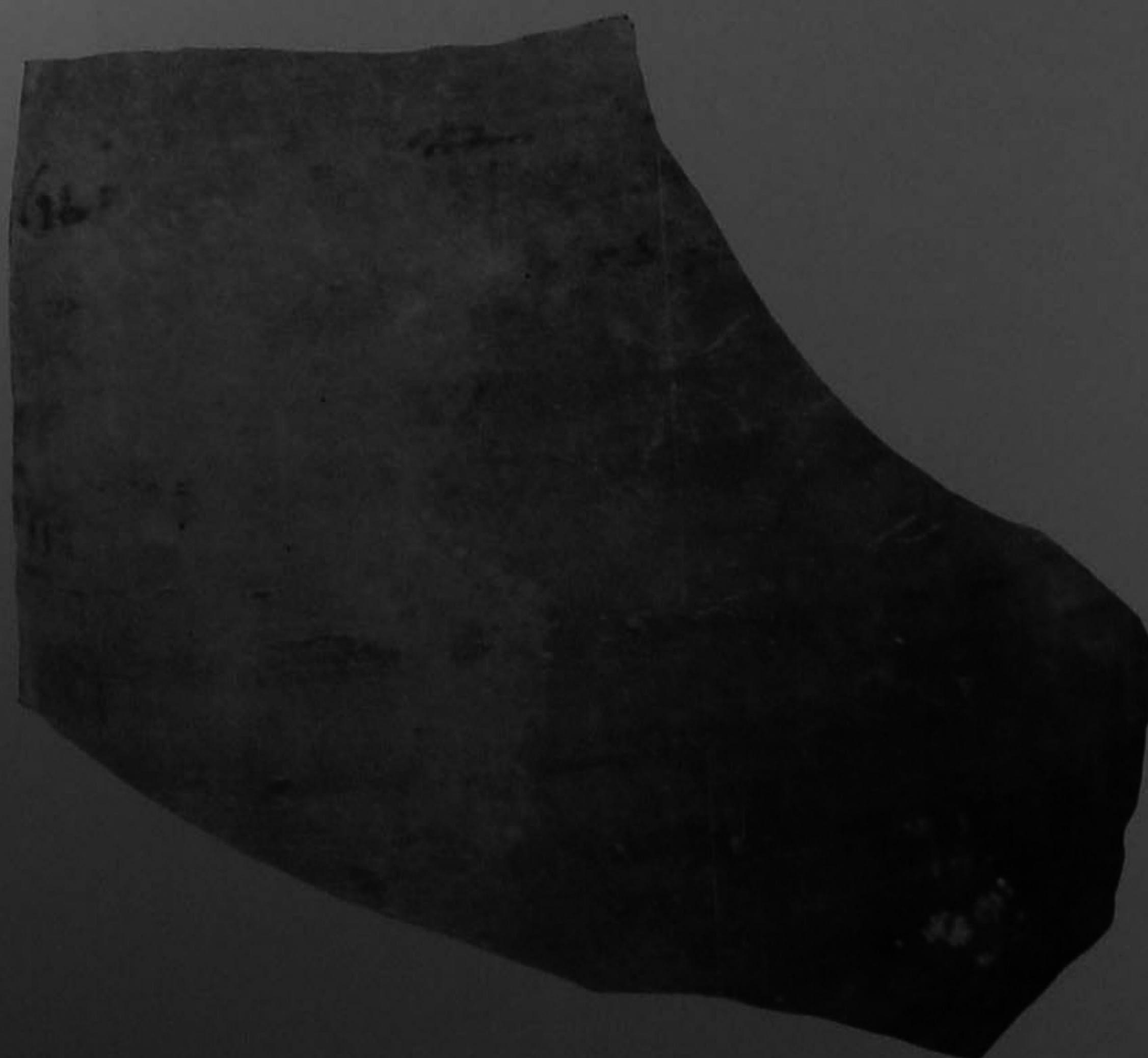
Text 53 (p. 114)



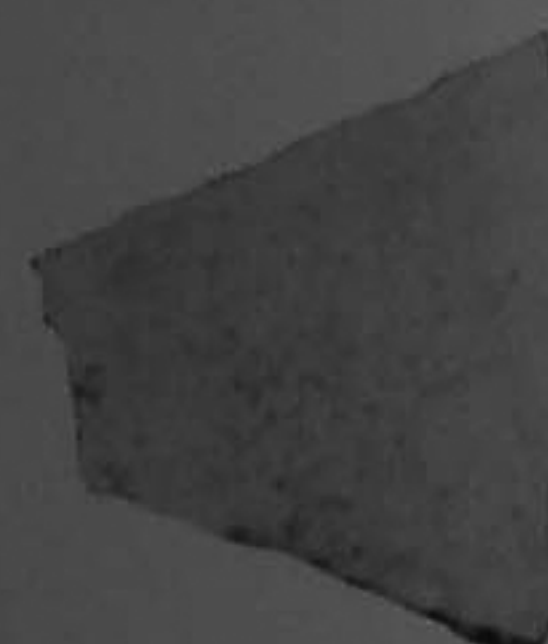
Text 54 (p. 114 f.)



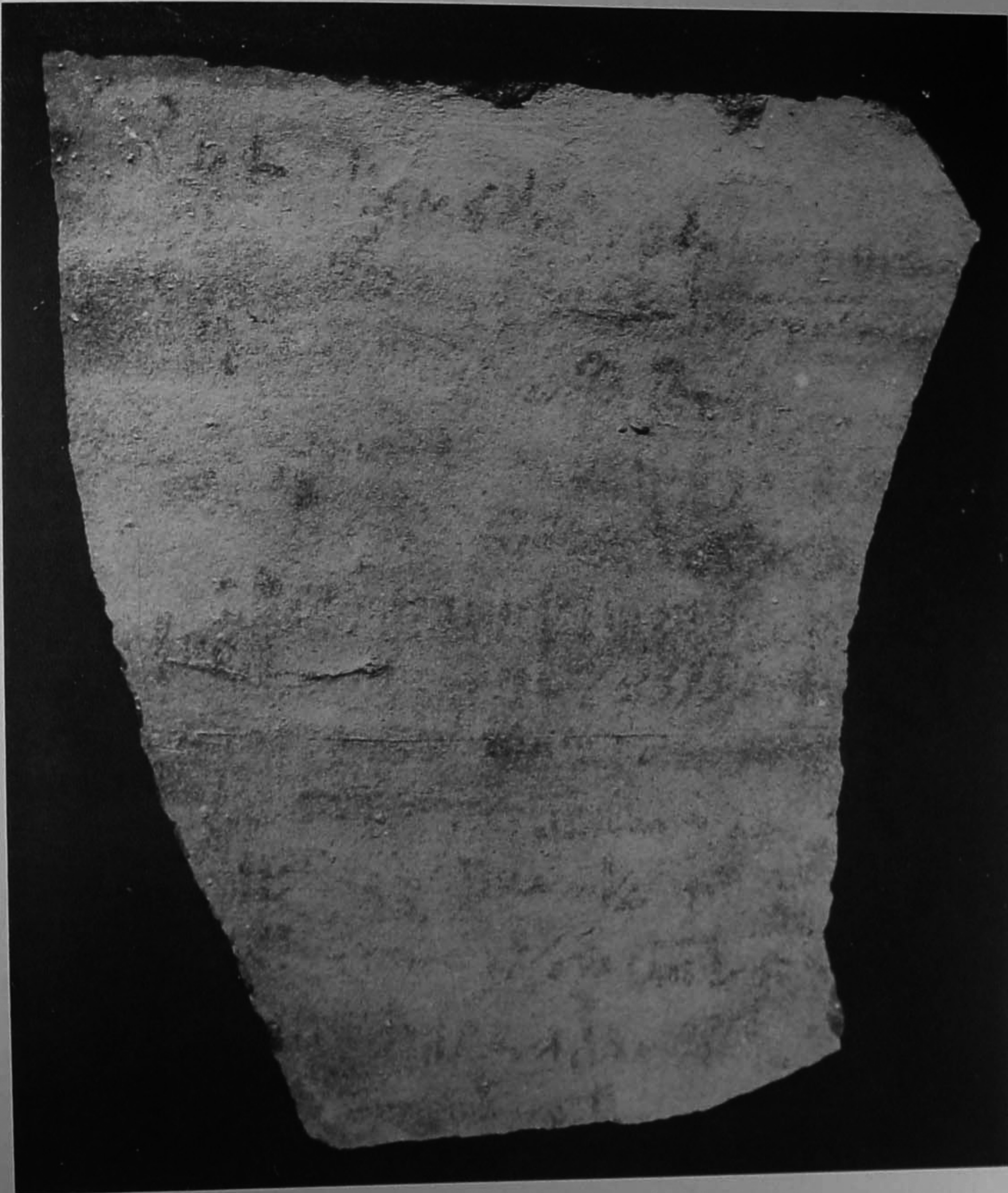
Text 55 (p. 115)



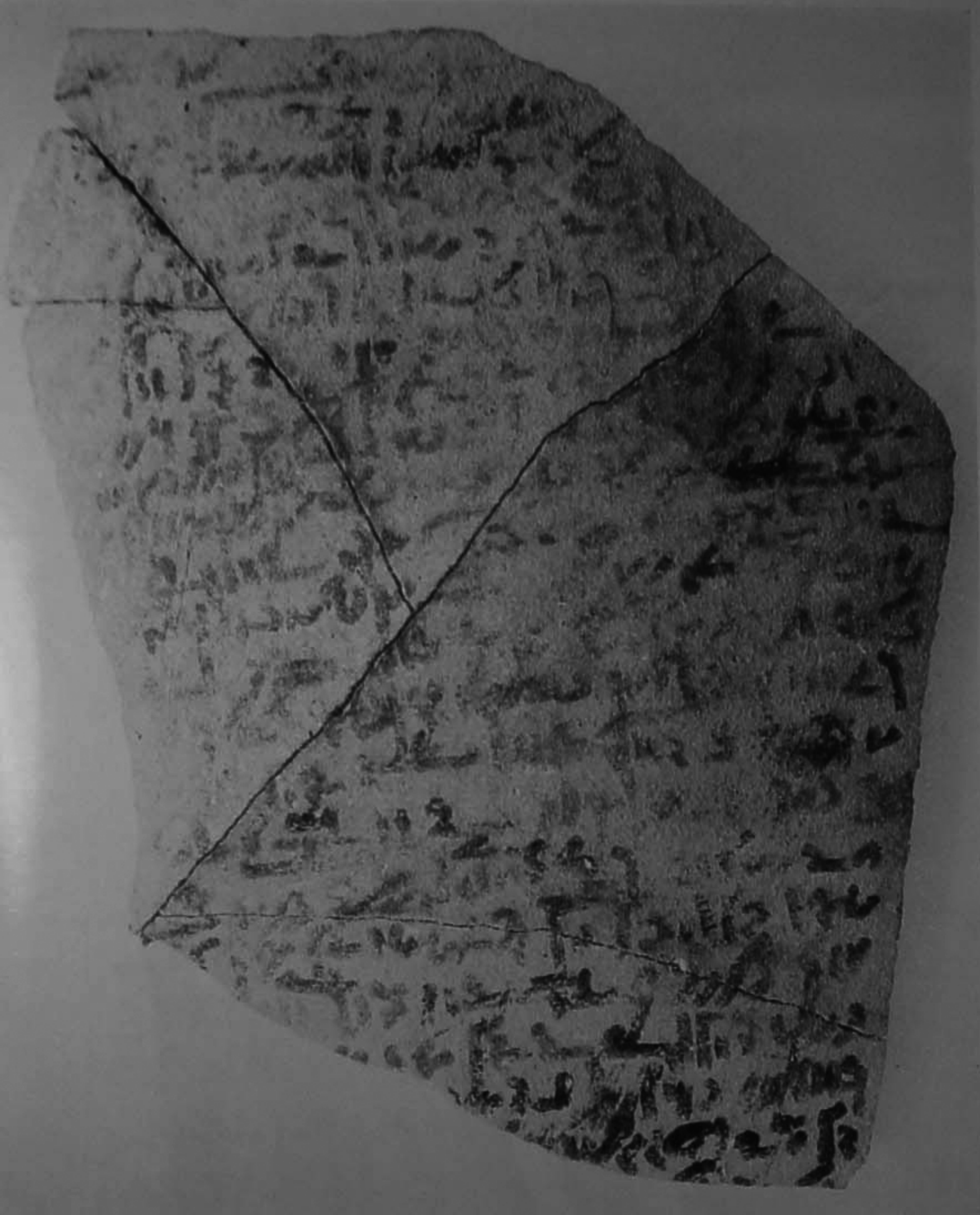
Text 56 (p. 115)



Text 57 (p. 115)



Text 58 (p. 116)



Text 59 (pp. 167 ff.)



Text 60 (p. 169 f.)



Text 61 (p. 170 f.)

Fragment of a papyrus scroll containing multiple columns of handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in several columns, with some lines being more prominent than others. The fragment is tilted and shows signs of wear and damage.

Text 59 (pp. 167 ff.)

Small, triangular fragment of a papyrus scroll with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in several columns, with some lines being more prominent than others. The fragment is tilted and shows signs of wear and damage.

Text 60 (p. 169 f.)

Rectangular fragment of a papyrus scroll with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in several columns, with some lines being more prominent than others. The fragment is tilted and shows signs of wear and damage.

Text 61 (p. 170 f.)



Text 62 (p. 171 f.)



Text 63 (p. 172)



Text 64 R° (p. 172 f.)



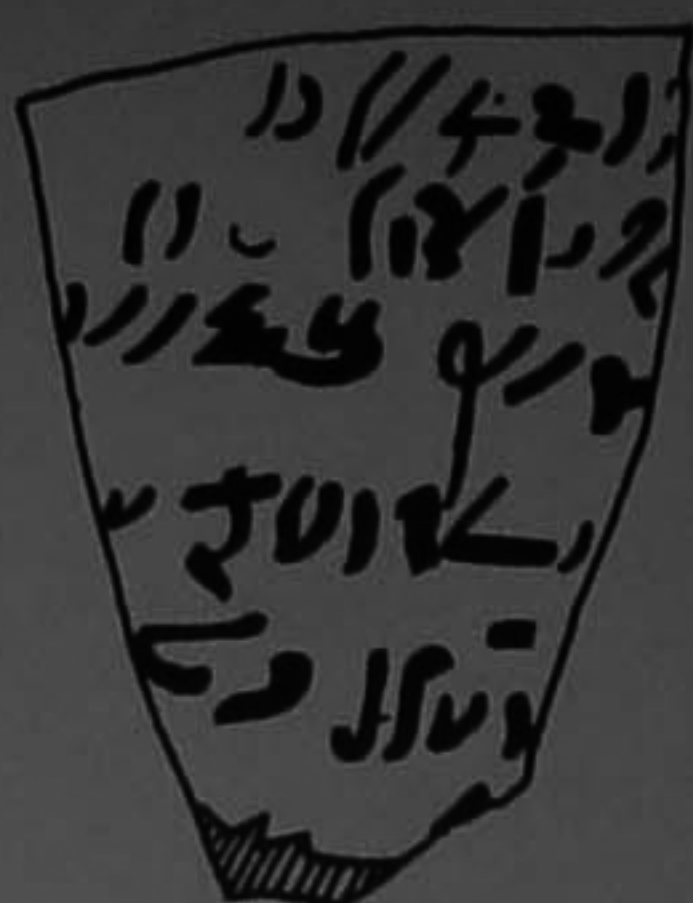
Text 65 R° (p. 173 f.)



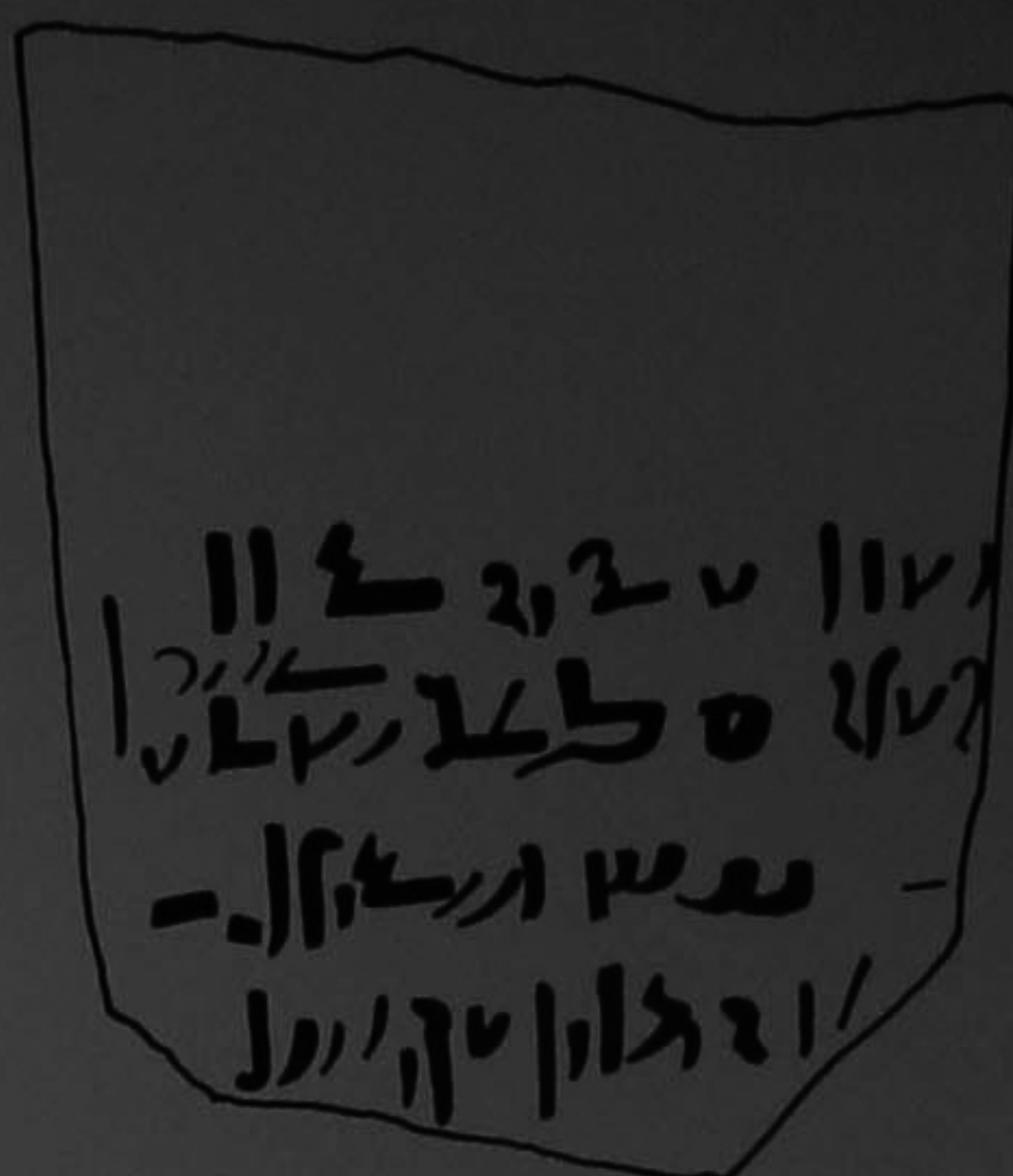
Text 64 V° (p. 172 f.)



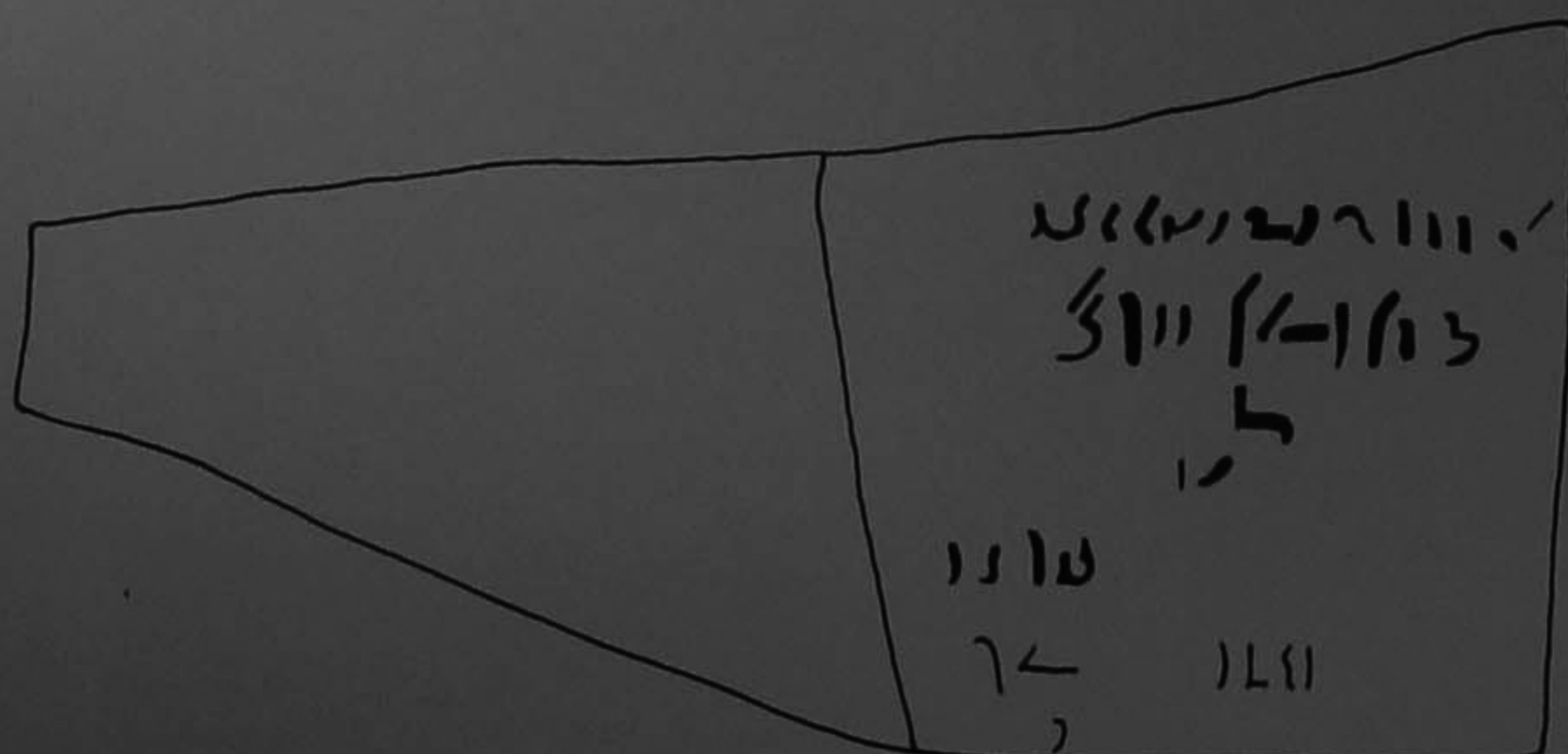
Text 65 V° (p. 173 f.)



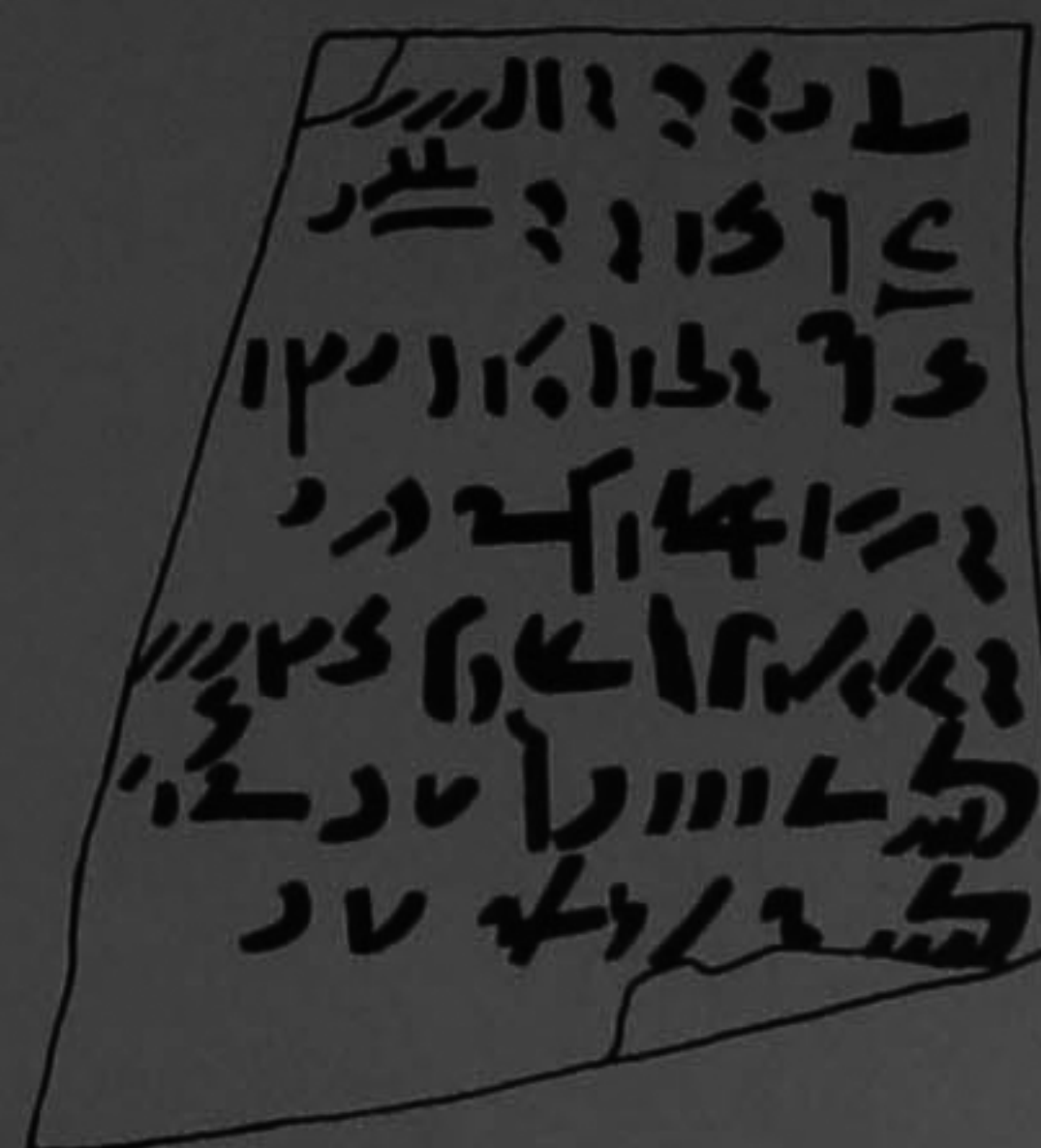
Text 62 (p. 171 f.)



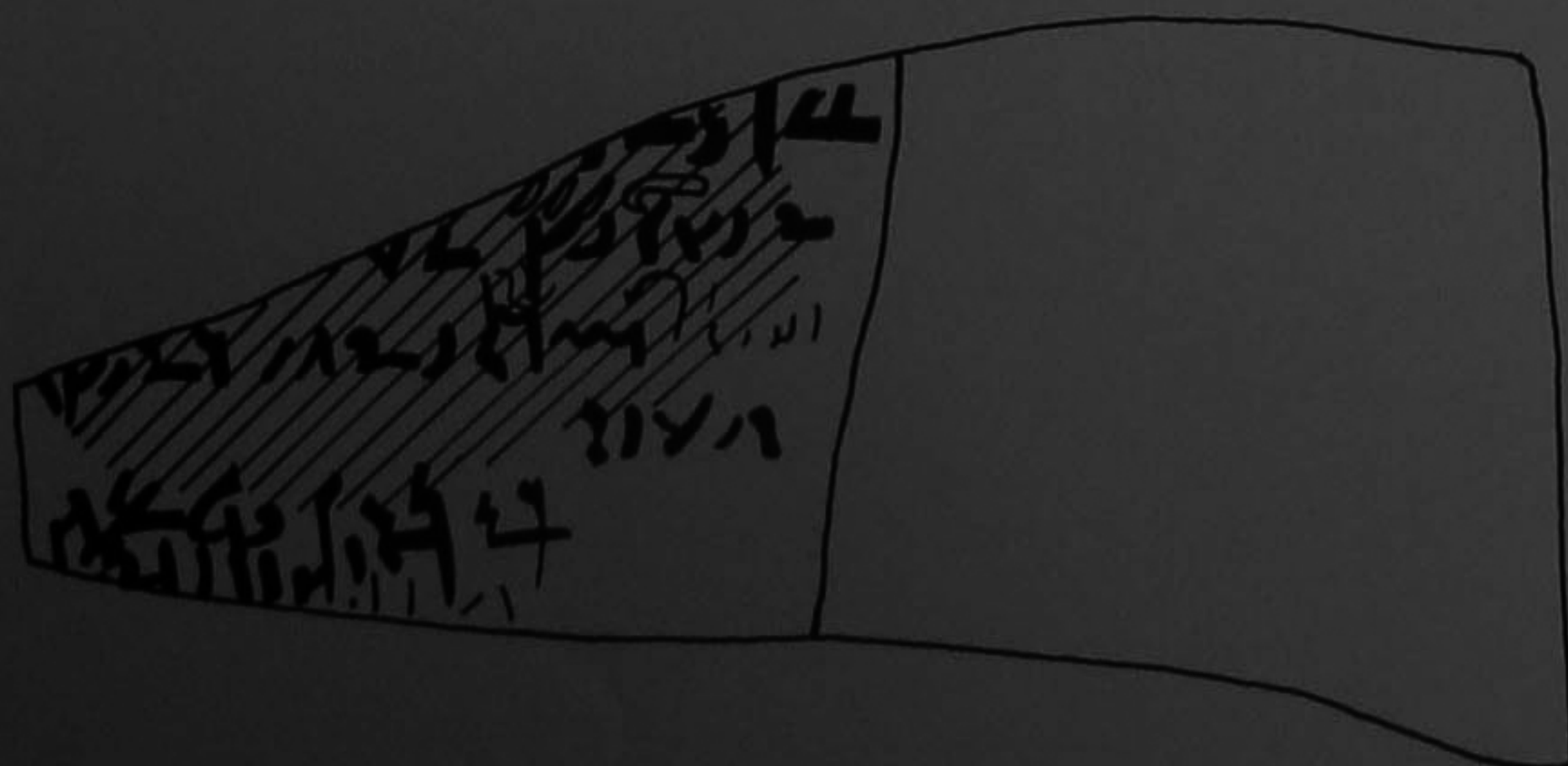
Text 63 (p. 172)



RECTO

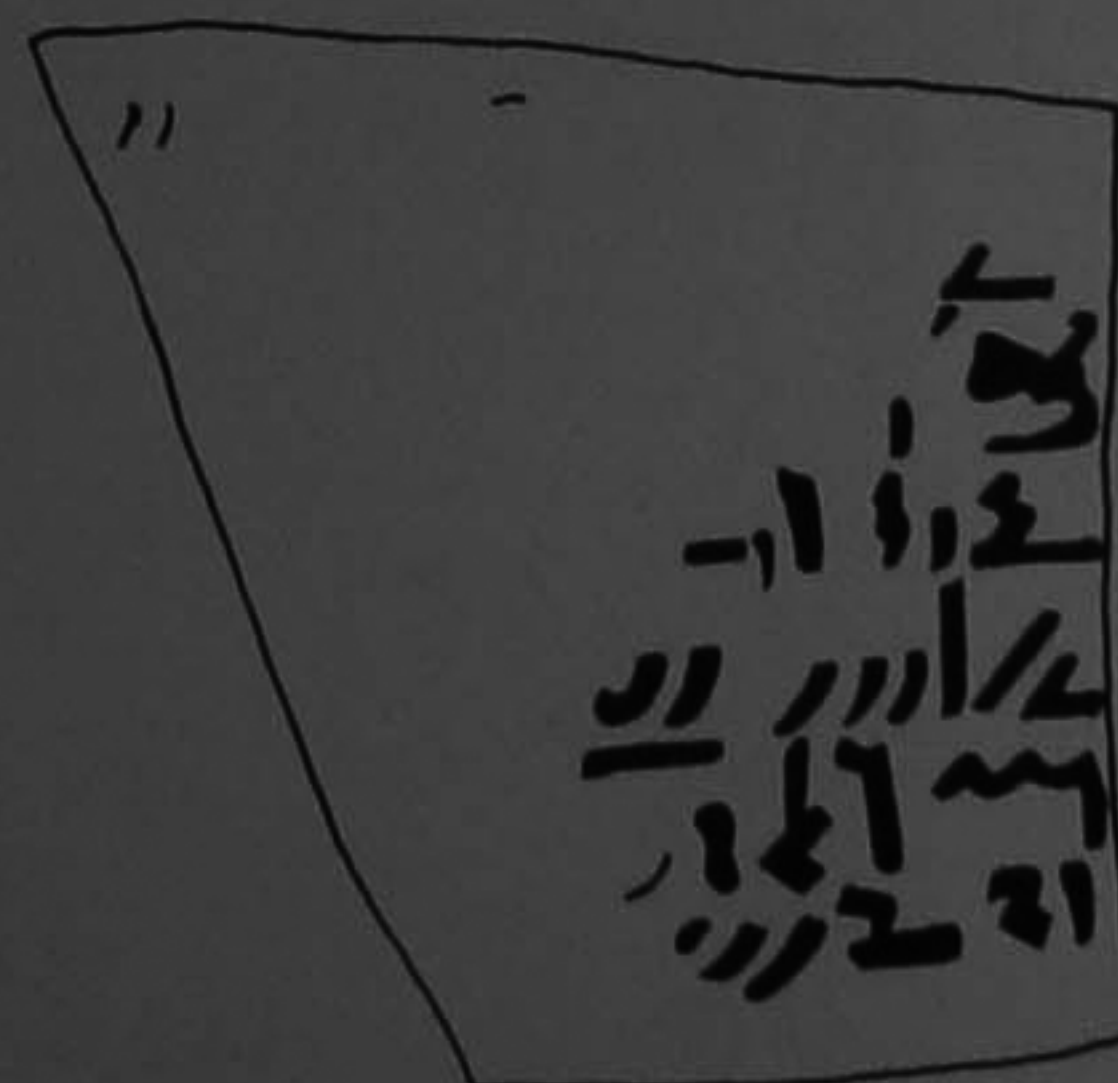


RECTO



VERSO

Text 64 (p. 172 f.)



VERSO

Text 65 (p. 173 f.)